



# ***Daily Report***

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## **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS-AFR-93-012  
Thursday  
21 January 1993

# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-93-012

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## Burundi

### Defense Minister Meets Tanzanian Counterpart

EA1801213293 Bujumbura Radio-Television Nationale du Burundi Radio in French 1800 GMT 18 Jan 93

[Text] The minister of national defense, Lieutenant Colonel Leonidas Maregarege, this weekend made an official visit to Kigoma at the invitation of his counterpart, Abdurahman Kinana, who is the minister [of state in the president's office in charge] of defense and national service of the United Republic of Tanzania. During the talks the two ministers reaffirmed the will of both sides to avoid any action aimed at perturbing the peace and tranquility of the people of their respective countries. The two defense ministers agreed on exchanges of experience between their officers' training and improvement schools. In addition, they agreed to establish contacts in the area of supplies. The two ministers agreed that their relevant services could start to implement the excellent intentions without delay.

## Chad

### National Conference Opens 15 Jan; Deby Gives Address

AB1501174393 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French 1230 GMT 15 Jan 93

[Text] Today is a historic day for Chad. The national conference opens today. This forum, convened after much hesitation, is expected to set up a truly democratic regime. Unofficial sources say 800 delegates have been invited to attend although several procedural questions about party and association representation have not been completely resolved. Here is an excerpt of the statement by President Idriss Deby, who painted quite a dark picture of this country's history:

[Begin Deby recording] In the face of this delay and considering the successive failures, each one of us must be moderate. The solution will come out of the synthesis of all views. This is why, instead of preaching this or that ideology, the Patriotic Salvation Movement [MPS] strove to first create the necessary framework that will lead to the (?acceptance of the final solution). This pragmatism forms the basis of MPS's option for democracy. [end recording]

As we said earlier, the question of representation at the national conference is causing problems. An opposition party says that the ruling party, the MPS, wants to have the lion's share, which has caused a lot of mistrust. This is what Saleh Bizabo, leader of one of the opposition coalition, explained to Raphael Mbadinga:

[Begin recording] [Bizabo] I think that now within the opposition one must be on guard. We are opening this conference with the firm intention of ensuring that dialogue will lead to a lasting solution to the Chadian crisis. At the same time, people have some apprehension

about this conference. They are fearful because they have no confidence in the MPS or the government and they fear that the MPS is organizing an extended congress to get people to endorse some decisions which have already been decided in advance and have supporters who are virtually devoted to it. The figures have risen from 500 to 750 and to 800 and since yesterday there has been talk about 1,000 and even more than 1,000 people. This means that the original exact list prepared by the commission, which prepared the national conference, is largely overextended. So, as they say, the conference room has been filled in favor of the ruling regime to permit it to (?win), when it comes to voting.

[Mbadinga] Has there been any agreement between the opposition political parties, notably, and the government on the status of this conference which many opposition groups would, of course, have liked to be sovereign?

[Bizabo] I think there is a tacit agreement on the status of the national conference. President Deby himself has for the past year spoken of the conference as being sovereign. So, I do not think there is anything to dispute about that. Even if the first act is to proclaim sovereignty, I think it is quite normal for the conference itself to proclaim its sovereignty. [end recording]

[Paris AFP in English at 1638 GMT on 15 January in an Ndjamenat-dated item by Pierre Briand adds the following: "A political reform conference began Friday in chronically unstable Chad where President Idriss Deby warned delegates to be "prudent" and not turn the proceedings into a trial.

["More than 750 delegates arrived for the conference to chart the impoverished sub-Saharan country's political future after decades of civil war and sporadic localised clashes.

["Deby, who seized power in December 1990, opened the debate with a bleak picture of the country's problems, saying that justice had been reduced to "a symbol" while the army was omnipresent and the administration was weak.

["The Chadian state is far from having kept its promises," he said.

["Once in power, soldiers and guerrillas have proved incapable of making the peace of the brave," he said.

["Many delegates had expressed hopes that the conference would allow Chad to launch the kind of political reform that has been seen in other African states, many of them former French colonies, in the past few years.

["Deby warned, however, that some 'sovereign national conferences' had turned into trials of the 'established regimes' and declared that, in Chad, the 'risks would be even greater.'

["After the opening session, weapons were destroyed in a ceremony organised on the square in front of the People's Palace. Some automatic rifles and machine pistols,

clearly not in working order, were burned in front of invited diplomats and other guests.

["Former president Goukouni Weddeye, invited by the conference preparation commission, took part in the ceremony alongside Prime Minister Joseph Yodoyman and the chairman of the provisional council of the republic, Djimasta Koibla.

["Deby said they should later Friday elect their conference officials. Observers said the issue of sovereignty would soon arise, since conference decisions are supposed to be binding but the head of state pointed out that he was still in charge until transitional institutions were formed."]

### Ex-President Comments

AB1601155193 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French 0730 GMT 16 Jan 93

[Excerpts] The Chadian national conference which opened in Ndjamenas on 15 January continues its deliberations today. Opening the conference, President Idriss Deby told the 800 participants to do away with a sense of revenge and divisions but to seek a flexible transition. [passage omitted]

Delegates to the conference will today set up the standing orders of the conference and elect its chairman. The issue of the sovereignty of the conference is also to be discussed. According to the official term, the conference is sovereign but, as President Deby said yesterday, as long as the institutions of the transition are not set up, power remains in his hands. After President Deby's opening address, some political leaders did not hesitate to point out this contradiction.

It should also be noted that ex-president Goukouni Oueddei was also present at the opening of the national conference. Let us listen to what he had to say:

[Begin Goukouni recording] We have witnessed with a lot of emotion the opening ceremony of this sovereign national conference all Chadians have been expecting. We also witnessed the symbolic destruction of arms by a non-violent Chad. As far as my personal feeling is concerned, I am more or less satisfied and happy about the holding of this conference. I would have wished, however, that no one be absent from it and that all Chadians—political parties, political personalities, political and military movements—should have been present at this conference to, first of all, get reconciled, and then settle their own problems. [end recording]

[Paris AFP in French at 0715 GMT on 16 January in a Ndjamenas-dated item on the same subject adds the following in reference to former President Hissein Habre: "Asked about a possible relationship with Hissein Habre, Mr. Goukouni Oueddei asserted that he had no contact 'either directly or indirectly' with him. 'I have neither tried to hold discussions with him nor intend to try to do so. We all know his past, so why go and soil yourself?' he added.

["Concerning his exclusion from the Chadian National Liberation Front, Frolinat, announced from Lagos on 14 January, the historic leader of one of the oldest Chadian political movements said he does not even know who his accuser is and added: 'Is he a Chadian?' He admitted that during the discussions on the reorganization of the Chadian Army, he had requested about a thousand soldiers be taken from his movement."]

### Agreement Reached on Sovereignty

AB2001123693 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 19 Jan 93

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The hullabaloo with Chad's four-day-old national conference over its sovereignty seems to have died down today following a compromise between the main opposition groups and the government-created tripartite commission. The commission was responsible for setting up the national conference, which opened last Friday [15 January].

During yesterday's debate, opposition factions objected to the text of the document, dealing with the conference's power to take decisions, but at today's session, it seems the commission has been persuaded to modify its position. From Ndjamenas, Mahmed Ahmed Adamou telephoned this report.

[Begin studio announcer recording] The new agreement means that the political parties and other groups have succeeded in getting the tripartite commission to accept that the national conference is fully sovereign. According to the agreement, the declaration of sovereignty by the conference takes effect immediately, and its decisions will be binding on the institutions dealing with the transition process.

The compromise was reached after behind-the-scenes negotiations between members of the tripartite commission and an informal group representing the different social, political, and humanitarian organizations at the conference. Today's session was adjourned in the middle of the afternoon, and work will resume again at 9 tomorrow morning, but it is not clear what the agenda will be, as the conference has not yet worked out under what rules it will operate, or who will sit on its executive council. [end recording]

### Deliberations Suspended

AB2001125393 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French 1230 GMT 19 Jan 93

[Text] The Chadian national conference is not making any headway. Procedural matters have still not been settled, and despite the proposals made by the commission overseeing proceedings, not much progress has been made. A case in point is the resignation this morning of Kassire Koumakoye, one of the Commission's members. Here is a report from Rene Dira Yombirim.

[Begin Yombirim recording] This morning, the Tripartite Commission, which is chaired by Interior Minister Koibla Djimasta, refused to go back to the issue of sovereignty, since a decision on the issue had already been adopted by the conference on 18 January. The Commission rather proposed an agenda consisting of the examination and adoption of the conference's rules of procedure, but this was rejected outright by many of the delegates who took the floor. They also rejected the bill which declared the national conference sovereign on 18 January, stating that it had been imposed by the Tripartite Commission.

Some delegates demanded that this Commission, which has been overseeing proceedings since the beginning of the conference, be dissolved and replaced by a presidium or a provisional body. It was at this point that Mr. Koumakoye, leader of the National Rally for Democracy and Progress and representative of the forum of 15 opposition parties, announced his resignation as representative of the forum. He attributed his resignation to the crisis of confidence existing between the delegates and the members of the Tripartite Commission. This was however rejected by a majority of the participants.

Former Prime Minister Jean Bawoyeu Alingue, who is also the leader of the Union for Democracy and the Republic, then moved that the deliberations be suspended again for further consultations. [end recording]

#### **President on Reconciliation, Fundamentalism**

PM2101100493 Paris LE FIGARO in French 18 Jan 93  
p 7

[Interview with Chadian President Idriss Deby by Pierre Darcourt in Ndjamen; date not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Ndjamen—The long streets of Ndjamen, the Chadian capital, are packed with vehicles and pedestrians despite the sandstorm covering its big trees with dust. There are flags and banners everywhere announcing the opening of the national conference. There have been no incidents, no agitation. A symbolic ceremony took place outside the House of the People: a large consignment of weapons has just been set on fire. This is a sign of peace and reconciliation. The national conference, which is due to last a week from 15 to 22 January, is not a sovereign body. Its main mission is to draw up a draft constitution which will then be submitted to a national referendum. In an interview with LE FIGARO, Idriss Deby, the head of state, answered our special envoy's questions.

[Darcourt] How can a war and campaign leader like you go from armed revolt to democracy and public affairs in less than two years?

[Deby] I have no magic answer to give you. I think that the main thing, when you are serving a cause, is to believe in it and to act. Politics is not an exact science served by doctors. But, you know, contrary to a bad

image which is all too often put forward, an officer who has graduated from your Military Academy is not necessarily a politically uneducated soldier. When I was fighting underground I often read and reread the Declaration of Human Rights adopted in 1793 by the National Convention and approved by the French people. This fine text written 200 years ago forms the basis of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It contains two key sentences in our view: "All citizens have the sacred and inalienable right not to be oppressed and debased by tyranny....The people must always have before their eyes the bases of their freedom and happiness, the magistrate must have before his eyes the rule of his duties and the legislator the object of his mission."

This is what motivated our insurrection against the despotism of Hissain Habre and our desire, after sweeping away his dictatorship, to establish a rule-of-law state. The only reservation I have with regard to our rights and freedoms, which are referred to in all contexts and unconditionally, is the notion of duty. Everything depends on this notion, and when you are in office on this simple definition: "Duty is easy to recognize, it is what people least want to do."

[Darcourt] What has the word freedom meant to you since you have been Chadian head of state?

[Deby] It is a word full of hope which can be weighed in the blood of the finest people. But in the exercise of my duties, I have learned to control its scope. Freedom is not a right, it is an obligation. I noted a sentence by B. Whichcote: "You are only as free as others are."

[Darcourt] Did the La Baule speech delivered by Francois Mitterrand at the opening of the 16th Franco-African summit on 20 June 1990, in which he took democracy as a universal principle, showing the African countries what direction to follow, influence your behavior?

[Deby] Not directly. At that time, I was living underground with a handful of comrades who were on the run and who were determined to remove Hissain Habre from power. We were involved in fierce fighting in the desert. Prosperous, well-ordered France was thousands of kilometers away, part of another planet. Its voice, its newspapers, its television were out of our reach. I was not involved in politics. On the other hand, we dreamed of freeing Chad from the police oppression which was stifling it, from the humiliation of its elite, of ridding ourselves of a despot who was cutting down the tree to get at the fruit. Words which support you in battle constantly came to my mind: the honor of my country and its citizens, dignity and, above all, the desire to empty the prisons. So, we created the Patriotic Salvation Movement [MPS] and published its charter which is inseparable from the promises we wanted to keep.

[Darcourt] Do you mean to say that your choice of democracy, of a rule-of-law state, and respect for human rights was not inspired by any political motives intended to guarantee you France's support?



[Deby] Certainly not. You know, a poor man always thinks he is rich. A man who puts his life at risk can only be generous. And generosity covers all faults. On the other hand, when the MPS came to power and restored contact with France, we heard of the La Baule speech and that text comforted us. Without any consultation, we were on the same path. Later there were some disappointments linked more to fanatics than to our idea of France. This speech is still important to us. Although it put forward conditions or questioned some African heads of state whose term in office amounted to a reign, it did not express any desire for control. I remember this important statement which Francois Mitterrand made: "France does not intend to interfere in the internal affairs of its African partners." Your president even added that he "would veto the staging of any change of regime, as has happened in the past." For we Chadian patriots, who fought to the bitter end, this sentence alone was an assurance of survival.

[Darcourt] Many of your supporters criticize you for putting Hissein Habre's former ministers back in place and proclaiming too broad an amnesty, even covering criminals from the DDS [expansion unknown]?

[Deby] That is true, but badly expressed. You know, we have emerged from 15 years of war and civil war. Before becoming a politician, I was a soldier, and the men who see bloodshed all too often know that forgiveness is greater than justice. In 12 years of fighting, I have never ill-treated or executed a prisoner. I think hatred is more dangerous than the jaws of a crocodile. In 1990, I told you what I had said in 1983: "I am fighting for Chad and only Chad." I promised our people that, unlike my predecessors, I would not rely on any of the ruling ethnic groups.

There are more than 200 ethnic groups in Chad and the language which unites us is French. I would like to stress that it is the entire Chadian people we want to unite in a strong and respected nation. Hissein Habre committed a veritable genocide by liquidating more than 40,000 opponents and he is living happily in Senegal. His absolute authority gives him sole responsibility for these crimes. As for the return of his former ministers or senior cadres, the explanation is clear. In the euphoria of our victory, we appointed some honest and courageous militants but they were all too often incompetent. The men of the former regime were better trained and competent. So we recalled them. They are Chadians and Chad needs all its sons. Regretting the past or ruminating on its bitterness is chasing the wind.

[Darcourt] Do you have confidence in Chad's future?

[Deby] Nobody knows what tomorrow will bring. But when I consider how far we have come, the African or international climate, I am optimistic. Look around us. Sudan is in the grip of a racial and religious conflict. Somalia is in its death throes, drifting out of control. Libya, which is the target of an embargo, is living under the threat of international action. From Mali to Niger,

one million Tuaregs are caught in spiraling violence and savage reprisals. Fifteen years of terror, drought, and famine have racked Mozambique. Political chaos, and a lack of medical provision are endangering the very existence of populations in about 10 African states in the very short term.

And then there is the danger of what we call "Islamintern," the fundamentalism of Muslim fanatics which is spreading to Zaire, Nigeria, Congo, and the Maghreb. Chad, which is free from this epidemic, a country where Muslims and Christians live side-by-side and respect each other, is still an oasis of tolerance and we will ensure that it continues to be that. But, to come back to our future, yes, I am optimistic. Our country only needs one thing: civil peace. Chad, which covers an area two and a half times the size of France, is not merely a "bit of sand" as some people have said.

We have oil, gold, cement, timber, large numbers of cattle and goats, and three big international airports. And the proportion of land to people is favorable to man. We have great opportunities for the future, provided the powers respect our sovereignty and no longer add unacceptable political pressure to the investments or assistance they grant us. Independence for us is commanding our own ship. We appreciate the aid which France and friendly countries give us, but not so much that we want to hand over the helm and the task of navigating.

## Rwanda

### MRND Continues Demonstrations; Kigali Under Curfew

*EA2001205993 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1800 GMT 20 Jan 93*

[Excerpts] The Republican National Movement for Democracy and Development [MRND] members are continuing their demonstrations. All activities in the town of Kigali were paralyzed. Shops and markets remained closed all day. [passage omitted] At 12 noon the president of the MRND in the prefecture of Kigali town, Jean Nsezerimana, gathered the demonstrators in Nyungogo and declared that the demonstrations had ended. He stressed that if by Sunday [24 January] the relevant authorities had not dismissed the government of Nsengiyaremye, then the demonstrations would start again. [passage omitted]

[Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in French at 1800 GMT on 20 January 93 reports: "Following the demonstrations yesterday and today in the prefectures of Kigali and Kigali town, the Security Council, restricted to the prefectural and military authorities charged with the maintenance of order, met this evening. After noting that it was possible that the confrontations between political parties and the acts of hooliganism which follow could continue, they have just decided to impose a curfew between 8 pm to 5 am on the entire prefecture of Kigali town and the surrounding

sectors of the communes of Kanombe, Rutongo, Shyirongi, and (Butemwa) in the prefecture of Kigali."]

### Officials Report Deaths, Injuries

AB2101111093 Paris AFP in English 1055 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] Kigali, Jan 21 (AFP)—At least two people were killed and several injured, 10 seriously, during demonstrations Wednesday [20 January] against a peace deal the Rwandan Government has signed with rebels, officials said Thursday. Several houses and cars, mainly belonging to opposition party members, were looted and wrecked in Kigali, witnesses said.

The demonstrations were organized in eight districts of the small highland nation by the youth wing of President Juvenal Habyarimana's National Republican Movement for Democracy and Development (MRND). They were protesting against an accord reached at Arusha in Tanzania on January 9 between the government and guerrillas of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), which provided for the entry of the rebels into government.

### Activities Halted in Kigali

EA2001124993 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in French 0430 GMT 20 Jan 93

[Text] Demonstrations against the Arusha agreements on power-sharing in Rwanda are increasing, in compliance with the call by the Republican National Movement for Democracy and Development [MRND] and the Coalition for the Defense of the Republic [CDR]. The town of Ruhengeri in northwestern Rwanda was totally paralyzed on 19 January. What is more, all access roads to the town of Kigali were blocked most of the day in Kigali prefecture, that is to say in [words indistinct] rural Kigali.

Demonstrations due to have taken place in Butare, southern Rwanda, today were postponed at the last minute on 19 January by the Butare Prefecture Security Council. In the Security Council's view, not enough notice had been given for holding the demonstrations. Ultimately the MRND and CDR demonstrators intend to halt all activities in the capital. This has already begun. Radio Rwanda's duty vehicle is blocked somewhere in Nyamirambo [eastern Kigali] by the demonstrators.

### Ministry Reinforces Security

EA1901160093 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1115 GMT 19 Jan 93

[Text] The German ambassador in Kigali is particularly concerned about the internal security situation in the face of increased violence after the actions of some political parties. This morning he met Boniface Ngulinzira, the Rwandan foreign minister, and was told that all these actions were aimed at blocking the resumption of the Arusha negotiations.

According to a communique from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the residence of one of the members of the government delegation to the Arusha talks was attacked last night, and the government had to take precautions by reinforcing security for the Rwandan foreign minister and his offices, as well as reinforcing security measures for foreign nationals and diplomats. All these assurances were given during the meeting between Minister Ngulinzira and the German ambassador this morning.

### Prime Minister Comments

EA2001102593 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1800 GMT 19 Jan 93

[Text] The prime minister has reacted to the outburst of demonstrations. This came during a news conference at the Hotel des Mille Collines in Kigali on 19 January. The prime minister condemned illegal demonstrations, saying that he had just issued directives to the ministry charged with security.

The prime minister said these illegal demonstrations must be brought under control and the troublemakers brought to justice. He also gave (?permission) to legal organs to put the instigators of the demonstrations on trial. The prime minister said that if the organs charged with security were incapable of controlling the situation, the people would take the law into their own hands. He stated, however, that the directives had started to be implemented.

The prime minister also talked about the Arusha negotiations, particularly on power-sharing. He reaffirmed that the negotiations could not be (?revised).

### Zaire

### Opposition on 'Failed' Plan To 'Seize' Media

AB1901205093 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 19 Jan 93

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Unconfirmed reports from Zaire say there have been a number of deaths among demonstrators taking part in the civil disobedience campaign, aimed at bringing down President Mobutu. The Dead City campaign began last Friday [15 January] in protest at interference in the political transition which the opposition blames on the president and on the Army.

The opposition parties claim that yesterday's death action was a success. But they were unable to deliver on their threat to seize state radio and television in Kinshasa. On the line to Brussels, Anthony Goldman asked Justine Kasavubu, spokeswoman for Prime Minister Tshisekedi's UDPS [Union for Democracy and Social Progress] party, why their plan to take over the broadcasting station had failed.

[Begin recording] [Kasavubu] Well, for the simple reason that Mobutu, you know, he has some mercenaries that he calls on for this special attack. So, they surrounded the whole building, therefore, it was not really easy to get into this place. But, in the mean time, the people also decided not to go to work. So, I think the disobedience on a whole, is a full success.

[Goldman] President Mobutu was able to prevent any kind of opposition action against the television station. He does appear to have full authority in the Armed Forces, at least, in Kinshasa. Does that not make it very, very difficult for the opposition to pursue its strategy?

[Kasavubu] No, no, no, no, no! Let me tell you that if Mobutu is still (?teasing) everybody it is only because he is still benefiting from some kind of financial support coming from some partners outside the country. And let me tell you also that the security forces, you know, always reported to be behind Mobutu, are now split forces.

Therefore, Mobutu is still calling on mercenaries. It is only mercenaries that are intimidating our people. The security forces now surrounding those buildings are not Zairian people. They are mercenaries coming from Central Africa and some others from South Africa. We know that.

[Goldman] If President Mobutu has this access to mercenaries as you are suggesting, it is not quite likely that if the opposition continues with its campaign, at some point there will be violence?

[Kasavubu] No, because the more he is recruiting or seeking for mercenaries, the more he is just, you know, bringing desperation in our country, and the more the population is going to reach a point of no return that will bring, you know, the explosion. So, sooner or later, the people are going to change their attitude and, you know, move everything off.

[Goldman] Are you saying you are looking for an explosion from the civil population to end this crisis?

[Kasavubu] No, but this is, you know, the consequence that should occur if the situation still remains as it is today.

[Goldman] There have been one or two reports of violence in the campaign of civil disobedience so far, reports saying, yes, perhaps one or two people had been killed near the airport. Do you have any reports of violence during the campaign so far?

[Kasavubu] Yes, that is right. We have, you know, the inquiry that we recommended [changes thought] brought the number of killed people to five. So, there could be many more, of course.

[Goldman] But the opposition has initiated this crisis, wouldn't they, therefore, have to accept some of the blame?

[Kasavubu] No, no, no, no. The opposition did not initiate it. It is Mobutu and his close friend, Mr. Bush, who is now leaving us with such a horrible, horrible heritage.

[Goldman] And there is no intention to call off this campaign?

[Kasavubu] No, no, no intention at all, as long as Mobutu does not want to get himself involved into the constitutional acts of the transition period, as long as he keeps his reference to his old Second Republic Constitution, the more we are going to continue this campaign. [end recording]

### Rights Organization on Concern Over Violence

EA1901224093 Mbuji-Mayi Voix du Zaïre in French  
1630 GMT 19 Jan 93

[Excerpts] The body of the late Makoba Bidimo, deputy secretary general of the Popular Movement of the Revolution in charge of the media who died on 16 January, was buried today in Gombe Cemetery [in Kinshasa]. [passage omitted]

The Zairian Association of Human Rights [Azadho], said that it was still expressing strong concern over the increasing assassinations, violence of all kinds, insults, slander, and other acts of banditry or political adventurism [as heard] as well as concern over general insecurity undermining the advent of healthy and long-lasting democracy in our country.

[Paris AFP in French at 1836 GMT on 19 January also reports in a Kinshasa-dated item: "Two people were gunned down in their homes and two others were wounded yesterday 'during looting perpetrated in some districts by men in uniform,' the Zairian human rights league said today in a communique." AFP adds, "The league 'strongly criticized the fact that armed and uniformed soldiers have once again and unlawfully forced their way into private homes, looting and killing in cold blood the occupants chosen at random.'"]

Azadho bitterly regrets that freedom of speech, freedom of association, and freedom to become a member of a political party or association of one's choice—which were thought to have been regained—have been severely tested since the political (?crisis) started in our country.

Azadho takes this opportunity to denounce and condemn the assassination of Mr. Makoba. It notes that the communique issued by Makoba's party said that the presumed assailants of the victim had been arrested. Azadho also requests that a judicial inquiry be carried out into the exact circumstances of the death of Mr. Nyamwisi Muvungi and Mr. Makoba, and also into the acts of pillaging which occurred in Mbandaka [western Zaïre], Kisangani [northern Zaïre], Goma [eastern Zaïre], and Butembo [eastern Zaïre].

Azadho also asks that the perpetrators of all these crimes be taken to court. Finally, Azadho requests politicians to stop using political aims to capitalize on the misfortunes hitting entire families by naming the culprits, so as to [word indistinct] the judiciary to carry out its duty.



## Ethiopia

### Foreign Minister Calls for Aid To Rebuild Economy

EA2101110493 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia in English to Neighboring Countries 1530 GMT 20 Jan 93

[Excerpt] Ato [Mr.] Seyoum Mesfin, minister of foreign affairs of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia, has said that Ethiopia needs assistance in establishing democratic institutions as well as in rehabilitating the economy. In a press statement he gave to French journalists in Paris last Monday [18 January], Mr. Seyoum said that the challenges facing Ethiopia are formidable and that the country deserves all the support and solidarity possible. During the press statement Mr. Seyoum said that the objective of the visit to France by the Ethiopian delegation led by himself was to develop relations between Ethiopia and France and to lay the foundations for the expansion of economic cooperation and the promotion of development assistance.

The foreign minister stated that to this end, he and his colleagues have held talks with French officials, including the foreign minister, Mr. Roland Dumas and Mr. Bruno de Lais, the presidential adviser on African affairs. Mr. Seyoum described the talks as fruitful and expressed belief that there is now a greater understanding of what both countries could do together and how France can assist Ethiopia in its important [word indistinct]. [passage omitted]

### Aid From Germany To Help Private Industry

EA2101105093 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia in English to Neighboring Countries 1530 GMT 20 Jan 93

[Excerpt] The FRG said today that it was giving Ethiopia 25 million German marks, that is about 15.6 million [U.S.] dollars to help the country's [word indistinct] private industry by urgently needed spare parts and raw materials. The German foreign aid minister, Carl-Dieter Spranger, said he and his Ethiopian counterpart, Dr. Abulmajid Hussein, signed the agreement yesterday. The German foreign aid minister said in a statement his country is [words indistinct] is serious in its reform efforts.

## Kenya

### Moi Urges Opposition To Join in Nation-Building Effort

EA2001170793 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 0819 GMT 20 Jan 93

[Speech by President Daniel arap Moi at the government ministers' swearing-in ceremony at State House in Nairobi—live]

[Excerpts] Your Excellencies, Ministers, Chief Justice, Ladies and Gentlemen, the day is a great occasion for

those who have been sworn-in as ministers in the new government. [passage omitted]

The best way we can serve the people of this country well is by committing ourselves to sound planning, comprehensive implementation of programs, and being faithful to the Constitution and the laws of this land, and most importantly being duty bound to the welfare of Kenyans. In carrying out the duties of your offices, and in particular, during implementation of government programs, you are required to adhere fully to the rules and regulations governing such programs. You will be held personally and collectively responsible and accountable for all matters related to your respective ministries, especially the application of financial resources.

Our brothers and sisters in the opposition, likewise, have a responsibility to make a useful contribution of ideas and participate fully in nation-building. Otherwise, it would be futile and indeed not in the interest of this nation for them to oppose for the sake of it. We are not against fair and sincere criticism of shortcomings in our administration for, after all to err is human and we cannot claim to be perfect, neither would our friends in the opposition.

As KANU [Kenya African National Union] spearheads the development of this great country, Kenyans count on the cooperation, goodwill, and support from friendly governments and international organizations, many of which are represented at this important occasion. I recognize and welcome the presence of the respective members of the diplomatic corps and other distinguished representatives of their organizations. To facilitate effective cooperation, I have instructed the minister for foreign affairs to pay closer attention to your appointments with the ministries and other government departments.

Finally, I wish you all, who have been sworn-in to the oath of office today, success in discharging duties of your office. Kenyans and I place a lot of trust and confidence in each one of you. Congratulations and good luck.

And I would like to ask all the leaders that pre-election campaigns have ended. There should be no campaigns or speeches that incite the people to do things which are not useful to themselves, and therefore I appeal to all leaders everywhere throughout the country to observe the laws of this land, and therefore I wish everybody to observe these rules. From now henceforth, I would like to ask every Kenyan to make sure that they do things that do not affect the other person, because we would like people in this country to move about their businesses without being molested.

The intention of my government is to make sure that there is stability and I hope the members of the opposition will do the same. With these few remarks, I wish you all God's blessings. Thank you.



### Government Issues Statement on Repatriating Refugees

EA1901213593 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1614 GMT 19 Jan 93

[Government Statement issued by Wilfred K.K. Kimalat, permanent secretary for provincial administration and internal security in the Office of the President on 19 January in Nairobi; read by announcer]

[Text] It will be recalled that in the recent past, the government has alerted the international community on the insecurity posed by the influx of refugees from Somalia, Ethiopia, and the Sudan. Quite a number of people fleeing from those countries have crossed into Kenya with firearms which are used in perpetrating banditry and to harass innocent Kenyans and members of the international community serving in those areas.

Kenyan security forces, in their efforts to eradicate the bandits from the areas in question, have lost a number of their personnel. So far, the number of Kenyan security forces killed when escorting food supplies for the refugees and maintaining security in the camps in the last six months are nine, and the refugees killed were 38. The total number of attacks in the refugee camps alone were 53. These figures exclude many other banditry incidents perpetrated against Kenyans.

So long as the refugees continue to cross into Kenya, some of them armed, the occurrence of banditry incidents will continue to cause concern, besides exerting heavy pressure on our financial resources and security personnel. The government would also wish to highlight other aspects as regards refugee influx into this country. The influx of the refugees has seriously overstretched certain services to the limit.

The presence of over 500,000—that is, half a million—refugees in various camps means that Kenyan hospitals in these areas, that is, occupied by the refugees, are to a very large extent being utilized by the refugees. In a town like Mandera the refugee population of 50,000 has already surpassed the population of the town. Refugees admitted in Mandera district hospital are in excess of local people admitted there, and this is causing a lot of resentment.

Other aspects adversely affected by the presence of the refugees include environmental degradation, depletion of water resources, [and] deterioration of airstrips and roads due to heavy use of the airstrips and roads by planes and trucks supplying food and other essential commodities to refugees. It should therefore be understood that feeding and providing health services alone to the refugees by UNHCR [UN High Commissioner of Refugees] is not enough. The international community is aware of this.

The government has on a number of occasions made requests for both material and financial assistance in order to cope with the presence of refugees in the country

who have been warmly received. And Kenyan infrastructures in the refugees areas continue to deteriorate without international assistance. The government can no longer bear this burden, nor tolerate the insecurity they have caused in the country.

As a matter of urgency and in view of the factors outlined above, the Kenyan Government would like the UNHCR to repatriate without any delays all the refugees from Somalia, Ethiopia, and other countries, to their own countries of origin. The Government of Kenya notes with appreciation that the UN security personnel and other agencies have established bases in Somalia and are in a position to provide security and other basic needs to returning refugees within Somalia.

Signed, Wilfred K.K. Kimalat, permanent secretary, provincial administration and internal security.

### UNHCR Rejects Order

AB2001144093 Paris AFP in English 1403 GMT 20 Jan 93

[Excerpts] Nairobi, Jan 20 (AFP)—The office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) on Wednesday [20 January] strongly rejected a demand from Kenya that the 500,000 refugees on its soil be sent home "without delay." "Reiterating its commitment to find solutions to refugee problems in safety and dignity, UNHCR wishes to stress that it can not be party and will formally object to any forceful return of refugees," the organisation stated here.

Late Tuesday, Kenya's permanent secretary for internal security, Wilfred Kimalat, said the government could no longer care for the refugees from Somalia, Ethiopia and Sudan and ordered the UNHCR to repatriate them "without delay." [passage omitted]

The UNHCR stated, however, that most refugees were themselves victims of "violent security incidents affecting mainly areas along the Somali border and are in no way associated with the wrong doings of undesirable armed groups".

The UNHCR has intended to begin repatriating Somalis, including some 320,000 refugees in Kenya and 500,000 in Ethiopia, but an official on Wednesday said the programme had not started "because the border is closed and because of security problems."

In December, when thousands of foreign troops arrived in starving Somalia to protect relief supplies from looters and help distribute aid in the U.S.-led Operation Restore Hope, the UNHCR announced plans to repatriate 500,000 refugees in the first three months of 1993.

However, the UNHCR had already expressed concern in Geneva on Tuesday at the growing threat by armed raiders to Somali refugees in camps in Kenya, saying 18 people were killed last week.

The agency said attacks by bandits were making it increasingly difficult to provide supplies to the sprawling Mandera, Ifo and Liboi camps in northeastern Kenya.

"The Americans have not pushed right through to the (Somali) borders and the armed gangs have taken shelter there," Medecins du Monde (Doctors of the World) coordinator Agnes Olivier commented Wednesday.

The UNHCR announced that it had in recent weeks repatriated 15,000 Ethiopians via the Moyale post on the Kenyan border. According to its figures, Kenya was sheltering 416,000 refugees on December 15, 1992.

### **Clinton Urged To Make Peace 'Major Agenda'**

EA2001162593 Nairobi KENYA TIMES in English  
20 Jan 93 p 6

[Editorial: Challenges for Clinton as He Assumes Office]

[Text] Today is an important day to millions of Americans as the 46-year-old former governor of Arkansas, William Jefferson Clinton, assumes the world's most powerful office of President of the United States for a four-year term. Clinton becomes the third youngest U.S. President and the first from the post-war generation.

The inauguration parade in Washington will be followed by an inauguration address by Clinton who has already told the world that [the] U.S. will continue to maintain its position as a military force ready to use it whenever necessary.

After the oath-taking formalities, with Clinton swearing to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the U.S., the former Arkansas governor will have started his term inheriting many issues both domestic and international which will judge him for what he is.

The domestic problems he faces are many but for us in the Third World, we are sure we speak for the silent majority in Africa, will be pleading with the leader of the world's lone superpower to make peace his major agenda.

Some of the problems the United States will give priority to and which will make Clinton a great president will be the manner in which he will handle Iraqi President Saddam Husayn in order to create an atmosphere that will reduce tension and give room to round-table discussions.

While it is regrettable that Saddam has remained defiant against the ceasefire agreements that ended the 1991 Gulf War, it is becoming increasingly important that Clinton persuades his allies to talk peace rather than pound Baghdad with "smart" bombs.

We in the Third World and Kenya in particular have had our misgivings about the Bush administration and the manner in which U.S. Ambassador Smith Hempstone conducted himself during his term of office in Kenya.

The exchanges between Washington and Nairobi, though friendly, have certainly not been as cordial as should be.

While addressing diplomats in Washington, we are aware that Clinton has vowed to continue the hardline foreign policies of his predecessor. Although some of them go against his campaign pledges, the former governor will take comfort in the fact that politics is a game of compromise.

The revived Iraqi crisis cannot overshadow the drama of the U.S. troops now patrolling neighbouring Somalia, the escalating civil war in Bosnia and the Haitians clamouring for an asylum in the U.S.—all leftover problems Clinton will face from today as he settles down in the Oval Office.

The developing nations of the world will look upon the U.S. with great expectations and hope that during the Clinton administration, America will use its enormous resources and military might to make the world open a new chapter of reconciliation and peace.

The world is watching today as the U.S. changes leaders with the pomp that is expected of a major superpower, but the hope is there that Clinton will overcome the crisis facing his country and the world and silence the blazing guns through peaceful decisions for the good of mankind.

### **Somalia**

#### **President, U.S. Envoy Discuss Peace Plans, Conference**

EA1901220093 Mogadishu Voice of the Somali  
Republic in Somali 1700 GMT 19 Jan 93

[Excerpt] Somali President Ali Mahdi Mohamed has met Robert B. Oakley, U.S. envoy to Somali, at the U.S. Embassy in Mogadishu. The president and the ambassador discussed how to facilitate the international community's efforts in Somalia. The president said he was pleased that the U.S.-led international forces had accomplished a great deal since their arrival. The president recalled that the interim government had for a long time called for the deployment of international forces to ensure security, as well as to deliver humanitarian assistance to needy Somalis. The Somalis were peace-loving people yearning for democracy but were being disturbed by a few people opposed to the establishment of peace and security, President Mahdi stated. Referring to the recent meeting in Addis Ababa aimed at paving the way for the third general conference of national reconciliation, the president pointed out that although the meeting took longer than scheduled, it produced positive results. He recalled that 11 out of the 14 groups attending the meeting had reached agreement on the second day regarding the political objectives being discussed. Oakley said in reply that the United States would help Somalia stand on its feet. He pointed out that what had happened

in Somalia was history and what was required now was for the Somali people to decide their destiny and take advantage of existing opportunities. The ambassador added that women, skilled people, intellectuals, and chiefs would be given an opportunity to participate in deciding Somalia's future. [passage omitted]

#### **USC Official Meets Italian Delegation**

*EA2001205193 Mogadishu Radio Mogadishu in Somali  
1700 GMT 20 Jan 93*

[Text] The vice chairman of the United Somali Congress [USC], senior pilot Abdi Osman Farah, today received at his office in Mogadishu the in-coming Italian ambassador to Somalia, who was accompanied by a number of

Italian Army officers currently in Somalia. Speaking with the USC deputy chief, the envoy said that the Italian Government was eager to improve its (?strained) relations with Somalia and pledged to hasten the delivery of Italian aid to Somalia.

In reply, the USC deputy chairman, senior pilot Abdi Osman Farah, said that the Somali people had learned to tell their friends from their foes when tragedy hit their country. He said the Somali people were now ready, as they had always been, to cooperate and establish good ties with friendly nations for the benefit of all. The meeting was also attended by other members of the USC executive committee.

### **Mandela Ready To Support Lifting Sanctions**

*MB1901201193 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 2000 GMT 19 Jan 93*

[Text] ANC [African National Congress] leader Nelson Mandela is conditionally ready to call for the lifting of all remaining international sanctions against this country. At a news conference in Washington today, Mr. Mandela, who is in the States for Bill Clinton's inauguration, said he would recommend the dropping of sanctions to the ANC's Executive Council in exchange for job creation by business leaders and an agreement to hold nonracial elections by the end of this year.

### **Mandela on Expectations of Clinton**

*MB2001172693 Johannesburg Channel Africa Radio in English 1100 GMT 20 Jan 93*

[From the "Channel Africa Report" program]

[Text] [Announcer] African National Congress [ANC] President Nelson Mandela has called on South African businesses to help combat unemployment. Mr. Mandela was speaking at a news conference in Washington, D.C., where he is to attend the inauguration of President Bill Clinton. Connie Lorne reports:

[Lorne] Nelson Mandela told a Washington news conference he would encourage the lifting of remaining sanctions if businesses would help reduce unemployment. He also said he believed President de Klerk is on the right track, and he appealed to business leaders in South Africa and the United States to contribute finances to the ANC. Without more money, he conceded his party might not win an election against the National Party.

Nelson Mandela was full of praise for his friend, Bill Clinton, whose inauguration he will attend, and said he expects him to take a keen interest in South Africa and help to make (?peace) an investment. On State President de Klerk, Mr. Mandela said he has not changed, but [words indistinct] he realizes the necessity of quick and forward movement. He added he was convinced President de Klerk has accepted the idea of a government of national unity and was certain they will be able to work together, but he also maintains [words indistinct]. He said he expected Bill Clinton to help speed up the transition process and get rid of the white minority government which Dr. Mandela claims enjoys no support or legitimacy in South Africa.

[Announcer] Meanwhile in South Africa reactions to Mr. Mandela's statements have been positive. The deputy director general of the South African Chamber of Business, Ron Haywood, says that it is encouraging to see politicians focussing more attention on the economic situation in the country:

[Begin Haywood recording] What [words indistinct] find particularly heartening is that the politicians are focusing more and more on economic issues which we think

are absolutely crucial for South Africa to go ahead in a smooth political transformation, and in creating jobs. While sanctions, to all intents and purposes, in most countries have all but disappeared, nevertheless they are still officially in place, in a country like America in many of the states, and a number of Commonwealth countries.

And of course one of the areas where there are restrictions is [words indistinct]. Whatever, I think, any of our politicians can do to lift the restrictions as soon as possible is of interest not only, and of benefit of course not only the people of South Africa, but I believe to the politicians themselves. And I think any country, or any of our political leaders that can help, or [words indistinct] to ensure that we have free access to the world, and that the world will look at investing in South Africa, will very definitely help us to improve our trade, first of all.

And then of course the other [word indistinct] very important is how many investors [words indistinct]. So I think anything at all that can be done by our leaders, that included Dr. Mandela, to get the restrictions out of the way finally, as soon as possible, would be of overall benefit to South Africa. [end recording]

### **Business Group, PAC React**

*MB2001185293 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1600 GMT 20 Jan 93*

[Text] The South African Chamber of Business [SACOB] has welcomed the suggestion by ANC [African National Congress] leader Nelson Mandela that remaining economic sanctions against South Africa be lifted as soon as possible.

Mr. Mandela is reported to have said in Washington that he would ask the ANC Executive to reconsider its policy on sanctions if the local business community would give the assurance that a significant effort would be made within the next six to 12 months to reduce unemployment.

SACOB president Spencer Sterling said that while his organization shared Mr. Mandela's concern about unemployment it believed that job creation possibilities lay in better overall economic prospects after sanctions had been lifted. Sanctions originally had a negative impact on South Africa's growth performance but no longer played such an important role in the economic scenario.

Meanwhile, the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] has rejected Mr. Mandela's suggestion, saying that sanctions should remain intact until a commission for the election of a constituent assembly is set up.

### **COSATU Official Reacts**

*MB2101103993 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in Afrikaans 1800 GMT 20 Jan 93*

[Excerpts] The South African Chamber of Business says it welcomes ANC [African National Congress] President Nelson Mandela's call for sanctions against South Africa



to be reviewed, if the business community will help to combat unemployment. [passage omitted]

Mr. Jay Naidoo, general secretary of COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions], says Mr. Mandela's statements support the policies of the National Economic Forum. The Forum, established towards the end of last year, held its first important meeting for 1993. Job creation and retrenchments were the main topics on the agenda. However, the Forum could not reach consensus on issues. COSATU is prepared to consider a compromise if it is linked to an economic program negotiable in this forum.

Without agreement on a constituent assembly and an interim government, however, a compromise will not be possible.

### **SACC Head Urges Clinton To Tighten Sanctions**

*MB2001194693 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1828  
GMT 20 Jan 93*

[Text] Johannesburg Jan 20 SAPA—Leading cleric Frank Chikane called on Wednesday [20 January] for a tightening of US sanctions against South Africa, a day after African National Congress [ANC] leader Nelson Mandela proposed a deal for the curbs to be lifted.

In a congratulatory letter to President Bill Clinton on his assumption of the US leadership, the Rev Chikane urged him to seriously consider issuing an executive order for American banks to stop handling monetary transactions from South Africa.

"We believe that this is a vital step that will help to ensure necessary purpose of action from major role players in the current negotiations. South Africa needs a speedy and smooth transition," said Dr. Chikane, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches [SACC].

Dr. Chikane stressed that nothing short of an agreement on a date for elections and the establishment of a democratically-elected interim government "necessitates even a review of the present held positions on sanctions".

Mr. Mandela said on Tuesday he would recommend to the ANC that remaining economic sanctions be lifted if the government committed itself to holding elections this year and if the business community initiated moves to curtail soaring unemployment.

The Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation have slammed Mr. Mandela's proposal, but business leaders have welcomed the announcement.

Dr. Chikane told Mr. Clinton that violence in South Africa was engineered to derail the negotiations process.

"It is self-evident that violence is not spontaneous. It is in fact turned on-and-off at strategic times by those who want to derail the negotiation process," he said.

Only an international peacekeeping force would help stop the violence that killed 3,500 people last year.

"It is only with such a structure in place that the matter of violence can be addressed adequately and effectively," added Dr. Chikane.

### **Ambassador to U.S. on Clinton's RSA Policy**

*MB2001162593 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1304  
GMT 20 Jan 93*

[SAPA PR wire service issued by the SA Communication Service; "Information in this article supplied by Chris van Blerk of RSA Policy Review/Beleidssoorsig, a monthly publication of the South African Communication Service. The article appears in the Jan/Feb issue of the publication." "SA and the Clinton Administration"]

[Text] The inauguration of Mr Bill Clinton as the new president of the United States (US) on 20 January 1993 heralded the start of a new era in US administration. Chris van Blerk researched the possible implications for South Africa of a new Democrat administration. He established, inter alia, that an improvement in the US economy, which is one of Mr Clinton's main priorities, could create more opportunities for South Africa. If South Africa successfully transformed itself to a democracy and achieved reasonable political stability, the US would normalise all its relations with South Africa. If, however, negotiations broke down and violence escalated, endeavours to promote further punitive sanctions against South Africa would not be excluded. This article is based on information obtained from, among other sources, the Department of Foreign Affairs and an interview with Mr Harry Schwarz, South Africa's ambassador to Washington.

With a new president in the White House and a whole new administration of Democrats in power, the question could justifiably be asked: Is it likely that future US policy towards South Africa will undergo any dramatic changes?

In a written interview with RSA-Beleidssoorsig/Policy Review, Mr Harry Schwarz, South Africa's ambassador to the US, says that US policy towards South Africa will, within the framework of the existing US policy, react to developments in South Africa. In view of President F W de Klerk's opinion that South Africa is working on a policy which is in tune with the rest of the world, what then can Pretoria expect from Washington in particular?

Since the termination of Title III of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA) on 10 July 1991 by former President George Bush, South Africa's relations with the United States of America (US) have, according to an information document compiled by the Department of Foreign Affairs, improved steadily and substantially. General perceptions of South Africa in the US have also improved significantly, particularly in view of the political reforms initiated by the South African Government since February 1990.

These reforms and efforts to achieve a peaceful political settlement were actively supported and promoted by the Bush administration. An inclusive Democratic system of government, a market-related economic system, an independent judiciary and a bill of rights form part of the framework of principles promoted by the US Government in South Africa. The fact that the South African government is pursuing similar goals has contributed largely towards stabilising the country's relations with the US, the document states.

Mr Schwarz believes that President Clinton's policy towards South Africa hinges on three pillars: an end to violence, maintenance of pressure on South Africa, and, once the transition to democracy is assured, the development of a programme of aid and investment incentives to help the new government overcome the legacy of apartheid. However, he points out that none of these represents a shift in the existing policy towards South Africa.

According to Mr Schwarz, the only question to be raised is that of pressure, who should be pressurised? 'The South African Government is fully committed to negotiations. Therefore, if there must be pressure at all, then surely it should be on those who refuse to participate, those who set unreasonable preconditions or those who adopt uncompromising, unreasonable and stubborn attitudes in the negotiation process,' he says.

Mr Schwarz says there are some who look upon the new president with fear and others with hope as to what he might do that will affect South Africa. He looks forward to an administration headed by a man who, together with his advisers, believes in human rights and wishes to encourage true democracy. Mr Clinton recognises the problem of minorities. He realises that there must be positive job-creation activity and attention to health care and education in his own country, and will therefore understand South Africa's need to do the same. Mr Schwarz believes that South Africa can expect that the new president will seek to support the negotiation process and to encourage free and fair elections.

However, in South Africa the perception prevails that although the country has made good progress with cultivating an understanding of its constitutional complexities during the Bush era, the Clinton administration may be reluctant to acknowledge the reform since February 1990. The administration might have to be 're-educated' regarding the South African situation.

#### Well-Informed

Mr Schwarz points out that he has communicated over a considerable period of time with Mr Clinton, even before he became a formal candidate for the Democratic Party nomination, and has kept him informed of developments in South Africa. 'In my view, he is well informed on South Africa. There is no need to re-educate him and he is fully aware of the state president's actions since February 1990.'

Certainly there will, of course, be differences - most obviously because of the fact that personnel will change as the Democrats appoint their own officials to diplomatic posts around the world, Mr Schwarz says. He agrees that there is the problem of establishing relationships with new functionaries in the US administration, but that at this stage the embassy has an excellent relationship with the State Department and other departments, based on respect and trust.

'As we speak, Congress is resuming its work with 122 new members. We face the same task in respect of this branch of government. The embassy will have to meet the new members and their staff; identify those with whom we need to establish relationships, which will take time, and maintain existing relationships,' he says.

This also applies to the members of Mr Clinton's new cabinet. Questioned on how the appointment of Mr Warren Christopher, a former under-secretary of state in the Carter administration, as Mr Clinton's secretary of state will affect US foreign policy towards South Africa, Mr Schwarz emphasises that Mr Christopher is very experienced in foreign policy matters.

Indications are that he will effect a well-thought-out, rather than an emotional, foreign policy. If that proves to be the case, the appointment should have a positive effect on relations since it is certainly in South Africa's interest to have a person as secretary of state at the helm who will be sensitive to the complexities of the situation in South Africa and who would effect policy accordingly.

#### Negotiated Settlement

The belief is also held that Mr Clinton will maintain Washington's past policy regarding South Africa, with particular support for a negotiated settlement and the earliest possible establishment of a representative transitional government. At the same time, it is argued, pressure against the country would still be maintained and existing sanctions applied.

The director of the American Chamber of Commerce, Michelle Cohen, holds a similar view, saying that a Clinton administration would hold back investment and economic aid to South Africa until the introduction of an interim government and a business climate that is receptive to foreign investment has been established.

Asked if this 'pressure' perhaps relates to the new sanctions bill (HR 5761) which is under consideration in the American Congress and Senate, Mr Schwarz stresses that the Dellums Bill referred to in this context, lapsed in 1992. Should it be re-introduced in 1993, it is highly unlikely that, under existing circumstances, it would be passed. He emphasises that the Dellums Bill should certainly not be regarded as an indication of the attitude of Congress towards South Africa.

### Violence

'However, should negotiations break down in South Africa and violence escalates, not only condemnatory statements could be expected, but also endeavours to promote further punitive legislation. The likelihood of new federal sanctions should therefore not be excluded,' he warns. South Africa must obviously do all it can to deal with violence and to get the negotiations process back on track. If this does not happen and if there are blameworthy and obstructive elements responsible for the situation, it is important that these be correctly identified and perceived in the US.

Mr Schwarz concedes that most state and local sanctions are likely to be maintained until internal consensus on the constitution has been reached by the parties, or until a transitional or interim government has been established. Mr Clinton has stated that the US should maintain all remaining state and local sanctions, as well as diplomatic pressure, until there is an irreversible, full, and fair accommodation for the black majority in order to create a democratic government with full rights for all its citizens. The point should, however, be made that the word he used was that there need to be an accommodation, not a final, established new constitution, says Mr Schwarz.

According to the Department of Foreign Affairs, until 10 July 1991, with the termination of Title III of the CAAA, US policy towards South Africa was in the main dictated by the provisions of the CAAA of 1986. On that date, the formulation of US foreign policy vis-à-vis South Africa again reverted to its proper place in the executive branch of the US Government.

Since then, there has been a gradual relaxation of federal restrictions, but according to the Department of Foreign Affairs, the following federal restrictions remain in place:

The 1983 Gramm Amendment to the Bretton Woods Act of 1945 which requires of the US executive director of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) 'actively to oppose the use of (IMF) credit by any country which practises apartheid'. Certain criteria in terms of the law would have to be met to reverse this directive to the executive director. The 1985 Export Administration Amendment Acts which ban all exports to the South African Defence Force and the South African Police, except for medical equipment and supplies.

UN Security Council Resolutions 418 and 588 of 4 November 1977 and 13 December 1984, placing an embargo on the export and import of arms to South Africa.

The Intelligence Authorisation Act of 1987 which generally bans the US Government from intelligence co-operation with South Africa.

### World Bank and IMF

Mr Schwarz points out with reference to the World Bank and the IMF, that facilities from these institutions are also unlikely to be forthcoming until South Africans have reached what these bodies term 'internal consensus', when such facilities will become available subject to normal conditions.

However, according to the Department of Foreign Affairs, the fact that the US export-import bank was authorised from February 1992 to provide guarantees and credit facilities for exports to the South African Government is also a noteworthy development. In November 1992, a US Government agency has, for the first time since sanctions were imposed in 1985, provided major financial assistance to South Africa. This took the form of a 92.3 million dollar credit guarantee by the US export-import bank (Eximbank) to Transnet for the purchase of a new Boeing 747-400 for South African Airways.

### Trade and Investment

Mr Schwarz says a distinction must be drawn between trade and investment. US businesspeople will trade with South Africa, but before they will invest, most want to be assured not only of the end of sanctions, but also of the stability, future taxation systems, absence of threats of expropriation without adequate compensation, and generally a friendly environment to foreign investors. South Africa will have to compete with other countries for the foreign investment dollar.

Mr Schwarz believes that, because of South Africa's present image of uncertainty, the country imposes a sanction upon itself. If it were to solve its problems, sanctions from the US would not be an issue. If it does not succeed in doing so, the presence of sanctions makes little difference to the attraction for investors.

Nevertheless, even during Mr Clinton's election campaign, he promised aid and investment to South Africa in order to help eradicate the legacy of apartheid. Mr Schwarz comments:

'There is a perception of debt, disease, drought and other disasters about many parts of Africa which may cause many Americans to become dispirited about Africa. It is clear that the US has a different view about South Africa, a belief that the country has the potential to achieve a peaceful transition to a democratic government, and to become a major economic power. Before Mr Clinton's inauguration, he said, for instance, that the stakes in South Africa were very high, and that what happened in South Africa would inevitably affect the prospects for democracy and economic growth on the rest of the continent.

This belief on the part of the US is vindicated by the extent to which that country is already involved in assistance to South Africa. The US implemented a 80 million US dollar (R[and]224 million) aid package in



South Africa in 1992. This made the Republic the biggest direct financial aid receiver from the US in Africa. The US was the second largest donor to South Africa after the European Community (EC), with 108 million US dollar (R302 million),' Mr Schwarz says.

Asked if Mr Clinton's promises of support would be honoured only after the establishment of a transitional government, Mr Schwarz replies that an increase in the present assistance is not to be expected until South Africans have, at least, reached internal consensus on when assistance should be requested. The US has indicated that in the interim government period it would be guided by the internal parties as to what sort of assistance should be offered.

'If there were a clear signal for assistance, the Clinton administration would be "very supportive". If there were mixed signals, however, the US would most likely hold back,' he says.

#### 'Mixed signals'

The reticence of the US as mentioned above also applies to investment: The problems that US companies face in entering the South African market at this stage are illustrated by the experience of the American company Apple Computer. Apple Manager Jackie Robinson recently pleaded that the ANC [African National Congress] should stop 'sending mixed signals' on US investment. Apple was anxious to re-establish a sales and service network, but was being blocked by state and local boycott laws.

He mentions another factor that has to be taken into consideration, namely the African American lobby in the US. African Americans substantially increased their representation in Congress in the recent elections and have become a much stronger force in the Democratic Party. He stresses that while they, on the one hand, will exercise pressure to bring an end to apartheid, they could, on the other hand, become a force for assistance to South Africa once an interim government is in place.

Here the ambassador issues a warning: 'There can never be a solution to South Africa's economic problems based solely on aid. South Africa needs trade and investment and must regard these as priorities in its efforts to accelerate the growth of the economy.' The importance of this statement cannot be underrated.

According to a new directory issued by Washington's Investor Responsibility Research Centre, the number of non-US companies with direct investment of employees in South Africa has increased markedly over the past year, while US companies continue to be held back by local sanctions and South Africa's uncertain prospects.

The figure for US companies remains static at 111, up from 106 in March 1991, but still far short of the 267 present in May 1986. However, US concerns are expanding their non-equity ties through licensing and distribution agreements. The directory states that the

number of companies that have non-equity ties has increased by 23 to 256 over the past nine months.

In respect of US foreign policy, Mr Clinton proposed, inter alia, that institutions should be created which could assist countries who find the transition to a democracy and a free-market system difficult. Mr Schwarz was asked what the implications of this proposal would be for South Africa and if it could not possibly imply renewed interference in the RSA's internal affairs.

Mr Schwarz explains that statements certainly indicate that the US would sympathetically consider requests for assistance from South Africa, provided that such requests are based on internal consensus or after an election for a newly constituted Democratic government has taken place.

South Africa's needs, irrespective of who is in government, will be great, he says. Any new government will, as its first priority, have to address both growth and the imbalances of the past. The South African economy will change. It has become very capital intensive, jobs have to be created and major restructuring will have to take place. Mr Schwarz adds that assistance from the US and the rest of the international community would certainly be welcome—South Africa faces a harsh uphill economic battle. He cautions that attempts to persuade and seek assistance should not be confused with interference in internal affairs.

#### SA economy

The foreign affairs document states that the improvement in relations between the US and South Africa is clearly demonstrated by the 30 per cent growth in trade between South Africa and the US between 1990 and 1991. The total figure for bilateral trade in 1991 was R10,569 million which makes the US South Africa's second largest trading partner.

According to media reports, Mr Clinton has declared that the rebuilding of the American economy would be his first priority as president. His appointment of Senator Lloyd Bentsen as treasury secretary is apparently aimed at achieving long-term economic growth, job-creation and the repayment of the national debt. Mr Schwarz was asked whether such developments could hold any advantages for the South African economy.

He points out that not only is the US the world's major power and the leading democracy, but it remains the world's major economic power. The state of the US economy has a significant bearing on the world economy, also on South Africa. South African exports account for about half of the gross national product (GNP). 'If there is an improvement in the US economy it would certainly create more opportunities for South Africa, particularly since the US is South Africa's second largest trading partner,' he says.

Mr Clinton indicated that he would like to re-route certain American investments abroad to certain sectors

within the US. At the same time, he is also in favour of a market-orientated economy and free enterprise. What effect could this have on American investments in the RSA?

Mr Schwarz comments that the Clinton administration's broad foreign policy, and the president's own statements in this regard, are clear on the fact that the US supports the furtherance of market-orientated economics. Mr Clinton is, however, socially conscious. Obviously, he would like to create jobs in his own country, but will not seek to restrict the freedom of American investors to invest where they regard it as being profitable.

### Pressure

In some quarters it has been mentioned that pro-ANC movements within the United Nations (UN), such as the Special Committee Against Apartheid (SCAA), with financial support from US institutions, might once more attempt to put strong pressure on the South African Government to hasten the reform process. Mr Schwarz believes that this is unlikely under the present circumstances. If the situation in South Africa deteriorates, and if the government is seen to be blamed for such a worsening situation, renewed pressure in the form of new punitive measures is not out of the question, he warns. However, the attitude of the UN Security Council in recent resolutions and actions, has been more even-handed than for many years, he says.

When asked whether South Africa's relations with the US stood a chance of becoming normalised after such a long time, Mr Schwarz concluded:

'There is no question in my mind that if South Africa transformed itself successfully to a democracy, respected human rights and achieved reasonable political stability, the US would normalise all its relations with the country. I believe that the US would be supportive of such a new government in its efforts to reconstruct the economy and address the imbalances of the past. President Clinton condemns apartheid but recognises that what follows in its place must be in accordance with the elements mentioned above.'

### Government Welcomes Appointment of George Moose

MB2001115493 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1008 GMT 20 Jan 93

[Text] Pretoria Jan 20 SAPA—The South African Department of Foreign Affairs on Wednesday welcomed the nomination of United States career diplomat George Moose as assistant secretary of state for Africa.

Department Spokesman Patrick Evans said in Pretoria the department believed that by nominating Mr Moose, the Clinton administration was sending an important signal to Africa at a time when Africa was being increasingly marginalised.

"The appointment of Mr Moose is reason for optimism," Mr Evans said.

"He is a career diplomat with extensive African experience and is also a highly regarded professional in much the same mould as the current assistant secretary for Africa, Hank Cohen.

"With his impressive credentials, confirmation of his appointment by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee appears to be a formality."

### Editorial Views Future of Clinton Administration

MB2101102793 Johannesburg THE STAR in English 21 Jan 93 p 14

[Article by Hugh Robertson: "It's Not Clinton's Promises That Count, It's His Image"]

[Text] The surly losers of last November's national elections are predicting that President Bill Clinton has set himself up for a fall by raising expectations that are vastly too high for him to meet.

They are almost certainly wrong, ironically for many of the same reasons they were wrong in November.

They have underestimated Clinton, and they have misjudged the dynamics that led to his victory.

The simple fact of the matter is that whether or not he keeps all his promises—is there a politician who ever does?—he has come to epitomise the most decisive force in American politics, the force of change and renewal.

Every survey before the election, every straw poll after the vote, every learned treatise and authoritative analysis since then, has concurred on one fact: it wasn't Clinton's specific promises that won him support; it was his image as an agent of change.

The forecasters of doom, employing the outdated political criteria they used in judging George Bush a sure winner, say the middle class will turn on Bill Clinton because the bigger-than-expected deficit he inherited from Bush—\$327 billion (R[and]981 billion)—will preclude any chance of his giving the middle class the tax cut he promised them.

But the shrewder and more contemporary view—seized on by Ross Perot, among others—is that a new national altruism pervades the country. Americans, the middle class included, are willing and even eager to make the sort of sacrifices they realise will have to be made if the economy is to be restored to health.

The latest Washington Post-ABC News opinion survey bears this out.

Given a choice of three goals Clinton should pursue in improving the economy, only 27 percent felt he should give the middle class a tax cut, 22 percent felt he should go for a short-term spending boost, and 45 percent said the most important step he could take would be to bring

about a major reduction in the federal deficit, which is what Clinton has implied will be his top priority.

Tax increases are not popular anywhere, but the survey shows that nearly seven in every 10 Americans believe they will soon face a tax increase, and 54 percent expect higher taxes for the middle class.

In areas where there really are high expectations of Clinton—education, health care, the environment, unemployment—there is overwhelming confidence that he will be able to effect improvements.

Given the status quo, it would be astounding if he were not able to. The health care industry is united in conceding that drastic change is needed, and the insurance giants appear reconciled to some form of state supervision. There is wide agreement on education reform and in the quest for cleaner air the automobile industry has pleaded for a new tax on petrol to boost the sales of fuel-efficient cars.

It is in underestimating Clinton's political skills that his detractors reveal weak political instincts. Of course he is going to disappoint a lot of people and he knows that as well as any other politician who has made campaign promises with his fingers crossed.

But it is the rare politician—and Clinton is such a one—who recognises that the need for self-promotion and campaigning only begins in earnest after the votes have been counted.

Here the new president is a master tactician.

He hosted an economic summit in Little Rock last month which drew huge national attention. As some of the most gifted economists in the world expounded on the tough options facing the president, Clinton basked in the limelight of being chairman, compere, chief questioner and the man who would have to pull it all together into a plan of action.

America had never seen anything like it, and when it was all over, Clinton's popularity ratings soared and there could not have been a mentally competent adult who did not realise that Bill Clinton was familiar with every pinnacle and abyss of a treacherous economic landscape and faced a daunting task in traversing it.

Bill Clinton is a supreme showman, he has his finger on the national pulse, he is intellectually gifted and he has shown himself to be tough and resilient, and, in spite of it, also sensitive and intuitive.

He has a shrewd and loyal wife, a Cabinet more talented than many others of recent times, and a Democratic majority in both houses of Congress.

He will have his ups and downs, and no doubt will make his mistakes.

But there should be little doubt that barring tragedy or an unforeseen scandal, he will stand for a second term in 1996—and probably win by a landslide.

### Civil Cooperation Operatives in SADF Purge

MB1901131993 Johannesburg THE STAR in English  
19 Jan 93 pp 1, 3

[Report by Jacques Pauw: "Axed CCB Agent Rehired"]

[Text] A former Civil Co-operation Bureau [CCB] "dirty tricks" operative was one of the "civilians" fired by President de Klerk in his purge of the SADF [South African Defense Force] last month, according to top military sources.

THE STAR has been told that former CCB regional manager Staal Burger and CCB co-ordinator Chappie Maree were both secretly employed by Military Intelligence (MI) after the official "disbandment" of the CCB in April 1990.

It is alleged that Burger is one of the seven unnamed civilians sacked on De Klerk's orders after a preliminary investigation by SADF second-in-command Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn. It is not clear whether Maree has suffered the same fate.

When he announced the purge of maverick SADF officers, De Klerk cited international practice as the reason for not identifying the civilians.

Sources revealed the extraordinary situation whereby Burger and Maree—having lost their CCB jobs—were hired by the controversial Directorate of Covert Collection (DCC) of MI. The existence of the DCC came to light only after members of Mr Justice Richard Goldstone's investigative team raided an MI facility and seized documents.

The DCC has borne the brunt of De Klerk's moves against the security forces, which have resulted in the removal of two generals and 21 other defence force officers. Announcing his moves last month, the State President said some individuals could have been involved in activities leading to murder.

The seized MI documents showed that the DCC planned to run a "dirty tricks" campaign aimed at discrediting ANC leaders by implicating them in criminal activities, and that another former CCB operative, Ferdi Barnard, was to run it. Barnard is a convicted murderer.

The sources say as many as 50 civilians are still employed to secretly gather information on organisations such as the ANC [African National Congress].

Burger and Maree were allegedly "handled" by a senior DCC officer, Colonel Gerrie Borman, who has also been named as the handler of Barnard. Burger, it is alleged, drove a red Toyota Corolla 1600 supplied to him by MI.

According to sources, Maree and Burger were involved in activities similar to Barnard's, under the aegis of the DCC. The DCC, headed by Brigadier Tolletjie Botha, was made up of agents drawn from the SADF's Special Forces, the police, the CCB and ex-members of the Rhodesian Special Forces.

Botha was one of the MI officers given his marching orders by De Klerk, as was his deputy Colonel At Nel and the unit's communications officer Commander Jack Widdowson.

The DCC's operations were shut down on Government orders after the Goldstone raid.

Both Burger and Maree have been implicated in—but not convicted of—various "dirty tricks", and their names were mentioned in connection with the murder of former SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] official Anton Lubowski.

Giving evidence at the David Webster inquest yesterday, Cape Attorney-General Jannie van Vuuren said Region Six of the CCB—which was commanded by Burger—had been "instructed to kill people".

SADF spokesman Major Charl de Klerk yesterday told THE STAR that in view of standing SADF policy, no information could be divulged about MI's functions.

Burger, whose head-quarters are at the Breakers Hotel in Berea, Johannesburg, could not be reached for comment. However, during his testimony at the Webster inquest in November he refused to say whether he was still connected to the SADF, and invoked the protection of article 118 of the Defence Act.

Breakers is owned by Burger and over the past months various former CCB members—including Maree—and former policemen have been seen at the hotel.

The hotel, sources said, was used by Barnard and Maree as an MI front from which they could plan operations.

Barnard and former DCC operative Leon Flores yesterday refused to comment on the involvement of Maree and Burger in the DCC. Both said they were still bound by the Official Secrets Act.

#### More Dismissed Officials Named

MB2101124093 Johannesburg THE STAR in English  
21 Jan 93 pp 1 3

[Report by Jacques Pauw: "Names of 4 Sacked Operatives Revealed"]

[Text] The Star can today reveal the names of another four civilians fired on the orders of President de Klerk after he received the first report of the Steyn inquiry into Military Intelligence [MI] "dirty tricks".

The men include Anton Nieuwoudt, the former head of an MI front in the Ciskei, who was also involved in the secret paramilitary training of Inkatha members, and

Geoffrey Price, a former Rhodesian who is one of Zimbabwe's most wanted men.

The other two civilian operatives identified to The Star by top military sources are Henri van der Westhuizen and Rich Verster. No further details about them have yet been established.

The identification of the further four sacked operatives means that the names of six of the seven civilians removed on De Klerk's orders in December are now known to the public.

This week The Star identified former Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) operatives Staal Burger and Chappie Maree as being among those fired after being secretly rehired in 1990 by MI's Directorate of Covert Collection (DCC).

Announcing his purge of two generals, 21 other Defence Force officers, and the seven "civilians", De Klerk last year declined to name the "civilians", citing international practice.

The president gave his orders immediately after receiving a preliminary report from SADF [South African Defense Force] second-in-command Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn, the man selected to investigate "dirty tricks" allegations in the wake of the Goldstone Commission's raid on an MI facility last year.

In a media statement at the time, De Klerk said serious offences had been committed which could have resulted in the deaths of people.

Nieuwoudt is alleged to have played a prominent role in an official project to train an elite unit of Inkatha fighters at a base in the Caprivi strip in then-South West Africa in 1987.

He later headed "International Research [IR], an MI front organisation in Ciskei. Intelligence sources claim Nieuwoudt and IR played an important role in persuading Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo that his territory was a prime target for ANC [African National Congress] destabilisation.

Price, alias Arthur Wiltshire, was identified yesterday as the DCC "handler" of former CCB operative Ferdi Barnard. He had been an MI operative for many years.

Previously Price had been director of closed security in the Zimbabwean Central Intelligence Organisation, and his name was mentioned in connection with an attempt to assassinate President Robert Mugabe in December 1981.

Price fled Zimbabwe shortly after the assassination attempt in which seven people died.

The SADF said this week in response to inquiries from The Star about the sacked civilians that no information could be revealed about the functions of MI.



### **SADF Declines Comment**

*MB1901135793 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1201  
GMT 19 Jan 93*

[Text] Johannesburg Jan 19 SAPA—The South African Defence Force [SADF] on Tuesday [19 January] declined to comment on an exclusive report in the Johannesburg daily newspaper THE STAR which said Civil Co-operation Bureau [CCB] Regional Manager Staal Burger was secretly employed by Military Intelligence [MI] after the official disbandment of the CCB in April, 1990.

"In view of SADF policy no information can be divulged on MI functions," SADF spokesman Commandant Maarten Lessing said.

According to THE STAR report former senior CCB "dirty tricks operative" Staal Burger was one of the "civilians" fired by President F W de Klerk in his purge which affected 23 SADF officers in December.

At the time Mr de Klerk said the names of civilian employees of the SADF, who also were involved in the purge, would not be released in accordance with international practice.

THE STAR said it was told Staal Burger and CCB Co-ordinator Chappie Maree were secretly employed by MI after the disbandment of the CCB in 1990.

It was claimed Mr Burger was one of the seven unnamed civilians sacked on Mr de Klerk's orders. It was not clear whether Mr Maree had suffered the same fate.

Two SADF generals and 21 other senior officers lost their jobs in December after an investigation into SADF "dirty tricks" departments by the SADF's second-in-command, Lt-Gen Pierre Steyn.

### **ANC Statement on DCC Secrecy**

*MB2101125493 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1053  
GMT 21 Jan 93*

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by African National Congress: "ANC Press Statement on Secrecy Surrounding CCB [Civil Cooperation]" ]

[Text] President de Klerk gave assurances that the CCB has been disbanded, and made no effort to respond to ANC calls that there be full public disclosure of its personnel, activities and command structures.

This failure resulted in what appears to be a change of names from CCB to DCC [Directorate of Covert Collection]—with the latter apparently operating in secret. Yet what has been revealed by the names of the "civilians" dismissed by De Klerk is that former CCB operatives merely became DCC operatives, doing the same type of work.

That the public is dependent on investigative journalism to find this out is scandalous, and reflective of a deep-seated contempt for the South African public's right to know. Such secrecy is of even greater concern because activities of such operatives, as acknowledged by De Klerk when he dismissed and retired both military and civilian personnel, could have resulted in death.

Such continued secrecy can only fuel suspicions of cover-up regarding involvement in the ongoing violence.

For the public to have any confidence that hired killers are not being moved from one covert operation to another, we repeat that it is essential there be full public disclosure, including the names of the people dismissed, the activities the CCB and DCC were involved in, and how these units were funded. Unless this is done, we can have no confidence in claims that such operations have ceased. Issued by: Department of Information and Publicity

PO Box 61884

Marshalltown 2107 21 January, 1993

### **VRYE WEEKBLAD Examines Top Brotherhood Leadership**

*MB2101095493 Johannesburg VRYE WEEKBLAD in Afrikaans 15-21 Jan 93 p 12*

[Report by Hennie Serfontein: "Here Are the Top Brothers"—first paragraph is newspaper introduction]

[Text] The Executive Council [EC] of the secret Afrikaner Brotherhood [AB] is the super cabinet in control of planning, strategy, and ideas of this powerful organization of 20,074 members organized into 12 regional councils and 1,392 cells, called branches.

The AB membership represents Afrikaans-speaking National Party [NP] supporters across the whole spectrum of society—church, state, politics, academia, and the business world. It includes State President F. W. de Klerk and most members of the cabinet.

The EC consists of 18 members. In the first 60 years or so of the AB's existence the number never exceeded 12. Among non-AB members at the time they were referred to as the "12 Apostles"—because of the EC and AB's declarations that they spoke and thought on behalf of all Afrikaners.

The EC is made up of a chairman, 2 deputy chairman, 12 members who represent the AB's 12 regions, and 4 nominated members. The following were appointed during the 1991 Brotherhood conference:

Chairman: Prof J. P. de Lange.

Deputy Chairmen: S. W. van der Merwe and R. S. de la Bat.

Regional representatives: Rev. P. W. Bingle, R. S. de la Bat, Prof. J. Cilliers, Justice W. H. Booysen, Prof. P. F. Theron, Prof. C. J. Reinecke, Dr. P. C. Duminy, O. A.

W. van Zyl, Prof. P. B. van der Walt, Dr. G. C. Velthuysen, L. J. Swanepoel, Prof. J. de Clarcq.

Nominated members: J. F. Steyn, Prof. A. H. van Wyk, T. L. de Beer, L. J. Botha.

Since 1918 the EC has consisted of a similar mixture of Afrikaners who support the NP.

The present EC, however, has one remarkable characteristic—a judge is serving on it and that, to my knowledge, is a first. In the past the practice has always been that if a senior advocate, who is a AB member, becomes a judge, he immediately becomes a so-called "exempted member," who no longer participates in the AB's routine activities and meetings.

Since 1983 J. P. de Lange, No. 7642, has been chairman of the AB. Five years ago he resigned his post as Rector of Rand Afrikaans University in order, as he put it, to spend more time building up a multiracial alliance of moderate South Africans of all colors—apparently as a counter to the then United Democratic Front and the African National Congress.

S. W. (Billy) van der Merwe is a retired attorney and partner in one of the oldest and most renowned Afrikaans legal firms in Johannesburg, Hofmeyer & Van der Merwe. He is a former chairman of the South African Law Society.

R. S. (Ritzema) de la Bat is the managing director of KWV [Cooperative Wine Producers' Society] of Stellenbosch. He is also a member of the Stellenbosch University Council and a member of the powerful Afrikaner business establishment of the Cape Province. He is a personal friend and confidante of F. W. de Klerk. When De Klerk hosted a private dinner at the end of November last year at Libertas to mark his 20th year in parliament, de la Bat was master of ceremonies.

Pieter Bingle, a pastor in the Reformed Church in Cape Town and member of a prominent church family, made his mark in education and the church. He is a personal friend of De Klerk and officiated at the church service when the latter was inaugurated as state president in September 1989.

Prof. Jacques Cilliers is Professor of Political Science at the University of Port Elizabeth. Justice W. H. Booysen is serving on the Natal Bench.

Prof. P. F. (Flip) Theron is Professor of Education at the University of the Orange Free State in Bloemfontein. Prof. C. J. Reinecke is Rector of the Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education.

O. A. W. (Olaus) van Zyl is member of the Executive Committee of the Transvaal Provincial Administration responsible for local government.

Prof. P. W. van der Watt is former Professor of Theology at the University of Pretoria and currently Dean of Students and Vice Rector. He has apparently replaced

Prof. Johan Heyns, Deputy Chairman of the General Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church, and a member of the EC for several years.

Dr. Gerrit Velthuysen is a former pastor in the Dutch Reformed Church, former editor of *DIE HERVORMER* [THE REFORMER], and former editor of *DIE TRANSVALER*, and currently a senior member of the board of Perskor.

Louis Swanepoel is Chief Secretary of the Rapportryers [Dispatch Riders—Afrikaans Cultural Organization]; for the past 2 years he has been involved in trying to initiate cultural cooperation among Afrikaners, despite political differences.

Prof. Japie de Clercq is former Professor of Bantu Languages at the University of Stellenbosch, and currently farming in the eastern Transvaal.

J. F. (Koos) Steyn is a leading educationist in Pretoria and head of the Transvaal Teachers' Association.

Prof. A. H. (Andreas) van Wyk is Professor of Law at the University of Stellenbosch. He was previously Director General of the Department of Constitutional Development. Van Wyk was recently nominated to succeed Mike de Vries as Rector of the University of Stellenbosch. He is also a strong favorite to succeed De Lange later this year or next year as the new Chairman of the AB.

T. L. (Tom) de Beer is a senior member of the board of Gencor [General Mining Union Corporation].

The AB has five officers. Chief Secretary is T. J. N. (Naude) Botha, who has held this post for almost 30 years. He is also a former leader of the National Youth League.

The other officers are: P.J.W. Badenhorst, D.E. Botma, A.J.D. Herbst, and L.G.J. Trichardt.

According to the latest AB-documents "14 ladies" are also members of staff, but are not considered important enough to have their names mentioned.

### Winnie Mandela Discusses ANC

MB2001102893 Johannesburg VRYE WEEKBLAD in Afrikaans 15-21 Jan 93 pp 7, 8

["Exclusive" interview with Winnie Mandela by VRYE WEEKBLAD reporter Hennie Serfontein in English; date, place not given]

[Text] [Serfontein] As we started talking you said "my people are still in bondage". What did you mean?

[Mandela] I mean precisely what I tried to say in my speech at the funeral. Here is the full text.

### Winnie's statement at the Helen Joseph funeral

(Many people here would be forgiven these days if they have forgotten what the original cause was for which

Helen (Joseph) and other heroes of our struggle lived and for which many died. But, surely a fool may suspect correctly that these sacrifices were not paid in order to reach some so-called power-sharing arrangements between the elite of the oppressed and the oppressors. Joseph, Mduli, Steven Biko, Neil Aggett, Solomon Mahlangu, David Webster, Matthew Goniwe and countless others did not pay the supreme price in order that our freedom be allowed to disappear into the sunset of political oblivion. They died, instead, in order to usher in a new dawn of real freedom, justice and lasting peace for our people. That was the cause to which Helen Joseph was prepared to sacrifice her entire adult life. At the rate at which things are going, it is very doubtful whether Helen Joseph would have ever seen the realisation of a genuine democracy even if she had lived to be 100 years old. Yet she must have died in the full knowledge that the people of South Africa need nothing less than that. In this context death may have favoured Helen by distortion of a noble goal in favour of a short-cut route to parliament by a handful of individuals.)

It has been totally misunderstood and taken out of context in the media.

It was not specifically referring to any individual in the first place, and I am a bit alarmed that a national issue of such importance should be reduced to personalities and individuals.

I did not refer to negotiations at all. Because we are all agreed on the concept of negotiations. I was talking purely about power sharing.

It is crucial to take the masses along with us on the question of power sharing. And it is the masses who must give a mandate to the leadership about the interpretations of power sharing. Because if we do not do that we are likely to find ourselves an elite group leading the masses while we are not in touch with them. We do not know their aspirations.

The general feeling on the ground is that our organisation may enter into big compromises with the government. And it is crucial that such a debate be started so that we go along with the leadership to the negotiating table.

I also raised the question of the Women's League in the speech, which the leadership should treat very realistically.

I raised the question because it was my mother's funeral. I would like to believe that the democracy that we are fighting for is the same democracy I know to be in the dictionary. One has every democratic right to express one's view. For those views to be reduced to material elitism really horrifies me.

I think we should pass that stage now when we discuss national issues. We must pass over the stage of cabal

statements, shrouded in mysteriously unnamed leadership. That is not how we should deal with these issues. I was talking about political elitism and not material elitism.

[Serfontein] **Do you say that you are fully behind the negotiating process, that you support what happens with Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa]? Support the full process?**

[Mandela] Yes, but that should be done correctly with the masses behind the leadership.

[Serfontein] **But they say the masses are behind the process because it was approved by various conferences.**

[Mandela] Approval at conferences is not consultation with the masses. The masses need a debate right now as to their understanding of power sharing. The whole debate has just missed the point.

[Serfontein] **This so-called sunset clause of Slovo, this NEC [National Executive Committee] plan, this interim government of national reconciliation...**

[Mandela] It must not be seen as a shortcut to parliament for a few elite individuals in the organisation. The masses must be part of that debate.

[Serfontein] **Will you personally go along with it a transitional coalition government for an indefinite or specific period? Are you opposed to the principle?**

[Mandela] I am not opposed to that principle at all. But how we go about it is what should be debated. It must not just be a handful of individuals rushing to parliament.

[Serfontein] **So what must the party do? How must it get to the grassroots?**

[Mandela] Surely the African National Congress is the spokesperson of the masses of this country. They know very well what to do. I would not want to be the one to prescribe to the leadership.

[Serfontein] **Your President Nelson Mandela in a clear criticism of your position said politics are not about people and referred to disciplined membership. How do you respond?**

[Mandela] That does not need my response at all. My remarks have absolutely nothing to do with any specific individuals, we are talking here about national issues. I suppose it becomes difficult to think in terms of political elitism for certain people.

[Serfontein] **You are referring to whom, when you say certain people?**

[Mandela] I refer to remarks I saw in the newspaper, that I live in a palace. Of course it is of my own sweat and blood. It has nothing whatsoever to do with the debate in question. And I suppose the newly suburban leadership



will find it difficult to talk in terms of political elitism, they are new in the game, they are caught up in the fever of suburban elitism.

My mansion, which is in the black township, is of my own sweat and blood and has nothing to do with the debate. As you know it was built from the monies I received from the international rights of my book.

[Serfontein] **So you do not want specifically to refer to what Cyril Ramaphosa and Nelson Mandela said?**

[Mandela] On no, I will not do that. The debate has nothing to do whatsoever with any individuals whoever they may be.

[Serfontein] **Thus you have no problem if after negotiations, and if it seems the only way to get out of this present impasse for some years, you need to have a national government of reconciliation, or a coalition government. You have no problem with that?**

[Mandela] I have no problem with that at all. But I have every problem with the translation of power sharing. There are very many issues we have not even begun to address in the ANC, because of the political situation in the country.

[Serfontein] **With what issues of power sharing do you have problems?**

[Mandela] The leadership ought to be aware that the masses fear being compromised. They fear that our organisation is about to enter into big compromises with the State. It must be obvious for the ordinary men in the street how he should fear the question of joint control for example of the security forces. That needs to be explained thoroughly to the people.

It must be explained properly to the ordinary cadres what it means when there is talk of integration of the SADF [South African Defense Force] with MK [Spear of the Nation; ANC military wing]. We have been fighting all along. We regard each other as enemies. Surely the ordinary cadres need to understand a little bit more before you can enter into any compromise.

[Serfontein] **You yourself have no problem with the principle of the integration of the forces?**

[Mandela] If the masses agree that that is the solution, I have no problem with that at all. But that crucial decision cannot be included in sunset clauses, it must come from the people, from the branches to the regions, from the regions to the NEC.

[Serfontein] **You are not raising these issues on your own behalf as Winnie Mandela but on behalf of the people?**

[Mandela] You know I have always worked with the masses.

[Serfontein] **How do you proposed to get this debate going?**

[Mandela] The leadership will know.

[Serfontein] **And what are you going to do?**

[Mandela] No, it is not my personal task. It is a national debate. My view as an individual is of no significance at all. I will merely participate in the debate like any other member of the ANC. And if it is viewed as being undisciplined to exercise the democratic rights to express one's views, then I have a problem with that.

[Serfontein] **Are you bitter or angry about the leadership's reaction?**

[Mandela] Not at all. You know me better. I am only appealing to the leadership to enter into a serious national debate which is of concern to every freedom-loving person in this country, and not necessarily only members of the ANC—everyone who is fighting for democracy, whoever they might be.

[Serfontein] **There has been speculation that you might want to lead a new party.**

[Mandela] (Laughs) Why would I do it? It is laughable. I have an organisation, the ANC. I do not belong to any other organisation. It is our people's movement. I have been branded as a hawk in the movement. Chris Hani, Harry Gwala and myself have been branded as hawks in the movement. We did not brand ourselves.

[Serfontein] **Do you then say you are a dove?**

[Mandela] (Laughs) I am not a dove at all. I shall never be that. You know me better.

[Serfontein] **Since your resignation you have no platform left in the ANC. How will you promote your ideas?**

[Mandela] There is the silly perception that I have resigned from the ANC. I have only resigned from the NEC. There has been a lot of nonsense in the press lately about me leaving because of corruption. It is the old trick that has been used by the government with people inside the organisation playing along. I will no longer tolerate such reports and intend taking legal action.

[Serfontein] **How do you see 1993—which is supposed to be the year of the negotiation breakthrough?**

[Mandela] We are all very disappointed about the progress made. We did not think that in 1993 we would still be debating these particular issues. The euphoria of the release of the leadership four years ago brought along a lot of expectations.

The brutal truth is we did not expect the interim government to take this long. Four years later we are still not free.

### **Government, IFP Meeting To Continue Tuesday**

*MB1801201493 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1913  
GMT 18 Jan 93*

[Text] Pretoria Jan 18 SAPA—The government and the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] meet in Pretoria again on Tuesday for the final leg of their two-day bid to remove obstacles to the resumption of negotiations.

The delegations are headed by the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] National Chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

Dr Mdlalose confirmed that the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) also met on Monday.

Most Cosag members attended this meeting to "discuss a number of things," Dr Mdlalose said.

He dismissed speculation that the IFP wanted to distance itself from Cosag to enhance its own political stature.

Dr Mdlalose would not expand on Monday's meeting with government, beyond saying it would continue on Tuesday.

The IFP, angered by the African National Congress/government September 26 Record of Understanding, withdrew from direct negotiations and has since insisted on a re-negotiation of the issues agreed to at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] II.

This week's talks will be aimed at clearing such obstacles and re-establishing a measure of the former trust which characterised the government's relations with the IFP.

It is understood that the IFP is also eager to reinstate its independent and senior position within a recycled Codesa, rather than functioning under the Cosag umbrella, where its association with white rightwing groupings such as the Conservative Party will make unity on many issues beyond the common ground on federalism difficult.

The government will begin talks with the ANC [African National Congress] on Wednesday, following a "bush caucus" with the government before the Christmas recess.

Joint committees concerned with specific problems are due to report back at the scheduled six-day meeting at an undisclosed venue.

The general expectation among negotiators is that obstacles to the resumption of Codesa-style talks will now be rapidly removed.

This requires agreement on the format for a new and more representative negotiating forum and finding acceptable formulae for new participants to join, while retaining the progress made up to Codesa II.

### **Second Day of Talks Ends**

*MB1901195193 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in  
English 1800 GMT 19 Jan 93*

[Text] The government and the Inkatha Freedom Party, [IFP] have ended two days of bilateral talks in Pretoria without issuing a statement. They've agreed to meet in Cape Town on Wednesday next week to continue discussions. It can be deduced from this that there are still a number of differences between the government and the IFP, but that both sides are prepared to thrash out problems through continued negotiations. Confidence between the two broke down in September last year when the IFP suspended negotiations with the government because of its Record of Understanding with the ANC [African National Congress].

### **Mdlalose Says IFP Committed to Multiparty Talks**

*MB2101081793 Umtata Capital Radio in English 0600  
GMT 21 Jan 93*

[Text] Inkatha's national chairman says the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] is fully committed to multiparty talks. Frank Mdlalose has been responding to fears that the inconclusive results of this week's talks between the IFP and the government might delay a multiparty forum. John Matham reports:

Mdlalose says the resumption of multiparty talks is what the IFP has battled for over the years. In his words: We are committed to multiparty talks. We want them to start, yesterday. Mdlalose says deadlocked is too strong a word to describe the present relationship with the government. He adds that we are not talking starry-eyed expectation either. Mdlalose refuses to give details of Monday [18 January] and Tuesday's [19 January] talks with the government. These have been described as stormy, particularly over the chance that the ANC and government are conniving by reaching agreement in secret. An Inkatha Central Committee meeting this weekend will formulate the party's position for next Wednesday's [27 January] resumption of talks with the government.

### **HRC Reports on Political Killings in 1992**

*MB1901202393 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1844  
GMT 19 Jan 93*

[Text] Johannesburg Jan 19 SAPA—Almost 3,500 people, including 129 members of the security forces, died in political violence in South Africa last year, the Human Rights Commission [HRC] said on Tuesday [19 January].

In its Repression Report, the human rights watchdog said that among the 3,499 victims of last year's violence, 278 had died in at least 300 attacks on train commuters.

Of the train attack victims, 22 were women and one a child, the report said.

The PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] region accounted for 1,822 deaths while 1,430 deaths were recorded in the Natal Province.

The HRC said 129 members of the security forces died and 203 were injured in 299 politically-motivated attacks. At least 14 of the deaths occurred in December.

The report said 175 people had died in the violence in December, of whom 111 had died in Natal, 45 in the PWV region and the rest in other areas. Nineteen dead had been identified as members of the African National Congress and nine as members of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

At the end of December, 15 magisterial districts in the eastern Cape, 14 magisterial districts in the Orange Free State, nine townships in Natal and five townships in the PWV had been declared unrest areas.

The HRC recorded 123 deaths in police custody, seven of whom were recorded in December.

It said 306 people were currently on death row, six of whom it considered political prisoners.

#### **ANC Press Statement on Members Killed in 1992**

*MB2101121193 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1045 GMT 21 Jan 93*

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by African National Congress: "ANC Press Statement on ANC Office Bearers Killed During 1992"]

[Text] Statistics compiled by the Human Rights Commission for the period of January - November 1992 indicate that 380 ANC members were killed and 685 injured in the continuing violence. Among those killed were 17 ANC officials. These figures are difficult to get and are compiled from what appeared in the press, they are therefore a conservative estimate.

The magnitude of these figures indicate a major and well orchestrated offensive against the ANC. In the light of CCB (Civil Cooperation Bureau) activities and recent revelations that other arms of the security forces are involved in third force activities serious questions must be raised about the relationship between the killing of ANC members and attempts by certain elements in government to undermine the transition to democracy.

It is a matter of grave concern that in very few instances has any person been apprehended in connection with these murders. We detect a distinct lack of concern or thorough investigation by the South African Police. The ANC demands that in each instance a murder docket be opened, the killings thoroughly investigated and that the findings be made public. Those who were responsible for these killings must be brought to book. There may be no attempt at a cover-up. Any evidence that confirms our concern about a concerted campaign of violence and intimidation against the ANC must be made public.

The killings are continuing, and the lives of ordinary people, among them ANC members, are daily under threat. There can be no delay. We demand that the South Africa Police start acting like the protectors of all South Africans—as they should be—and take effective action to stop the killings. Issued by the Department of Information and Publicity

P O Box 61884  
Marshalltown 2107  
21 January 1993

#### **20 January Review of Current Events, Issues**

*MB2001140393*

[Editorial Report]

#### **BUSINESS DAY**

Talks Must Prevent Negotiations Fiasco—"If President de Klerk is to open Parliament on his usual optimistic note, he will need to tell us more than that constitutional negotiations resume next month," warns a page 10 editorial in Johannesburg **BUSINESS DAY** in English on 20 January. "He needs to tell the country, the world and the markets, with sincerity and conviction, that those talks have a reasonable chance of success....All the main parties have so far shown their powers of disruption, government and the ANC [African National Congress] in collapsing Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] II and Inkatha in objecting to Codesa III. If new talks include elements of the CP [Conservative Party] on the right and the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] on the left, plus the Zulu king and traditional leaders, the risk of a possible breakdown will be that much greater. This week's talks are about ensuring that last year's negotiating fiasco is not repeated."

#### **SOWETAN**

End To Violence Rests With Buthelezi, Mandela—Johannesburg **SOWETAN** in English on 20 January in a page 6 editorial asserts that the responsibility of bringing an end to the violence "now rests on the shoulders of two leaders—Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi. The time has come for these two leaders to step outside the party loyalty that has prevented them from meeting when every nerve in their bodies was telling them they should."

Ciskei's Gqozo 'Beyond Redemption'—A second editorial in the same edition of the paper urges the government to put Ciskei "despot" Brigadier Oupa Gqozo "on a leash....After his outrageous outburst that the ANC, PAC and Transkei want to topple him, he is now asking squatters to demolish their shacks as their settlements hamper administration." Gqozo, the editorial notes, seems unaware that "drought and other factors are driving people to urban areas. The fact that he orders shacks to be demolished without offering alternative accommodation says he is now beyond redemption."

**CITY PRESS**

Joint Inkatha-AZAPO Rally Good Sign—The joint political rally in Bekkersdal, organized by the Azanian People's Organization, AZAPO, and Inkatha, "is a good sign indeed and bodes well for the future," according to a page 10 editorial in Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English on 17 January. "Black

leaders have to set an example by not only preaching peace to their constituencies, but by holding joint rallies. While we appreciate black organisations holding bilateral (and bosberaad [bush summit]) meetings with the NP [National Party] government, we believe however, that our problems are still with the grassroots in our townships."



## Angola

## Fighting Continues Between Government, UNITA

## UNITA Radio Reports On Situation

MB1901152493 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 1200 GMT 19 Jan 93

[Excerpts] War still characterizes the general situation in Angola. The fiercest battles are taking place in the cities of Huambo and Soyo. In the past 24 hours fighting was reported in the cities of Huambo, Soyo, Luena, Menongue, and Bie. The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] stepped up its air force operations during the same period, while its ground forces are being worn out.

The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] is still in effective control of the provincial capitals of Cuanza Norte, Bengo, Uige, and Zaire, and controls more than two thirds of Angola's districts. UNITA reiterates that it is ready to negotiate with the MPLA-Labor Party [PT] as soon as the dagger on our throats is thrown into the trash can of history.

For the second consecutive day today the city of Soyo awoke to the intense fire of the patriotic Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA], who are still proving that the Futungo de Belas' Palace option, taken at dawn on 28 October to wipe out UNITA, is not a solution to Angola's political conflict. Our correspondent reports that strong blasts were heard inside the city of Soyo. FALA gained control of closer positions on 18 January. Soyo will end up falling into FALA's hands within the next few hours in view of the declining morale of government soldiers. That is according to People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA] soldiers who surrendered to FALA units today.

Preliminary figures about yesterday's clashes revealed that FALA captured Sumba, the Pangala oil center, and the People's Air Force of Angola-Air Defense Air Force Base in Zaire Province. Nine BM-21 rocket launchers and six anti-aircraft guns and war materiel were captured yesterday. FAPLA's military advisers were taken by surprise by FALA's fire power. The port and airport of Soyo fell into UNITA's hands this morning.

Reports just in say that UNITA captured foreigners in the city of Soyo, including 13 Portuguese, one Argentine, one Briton, and one Mozambican. In fact, UNITA is hitting where it hurts most, using equipment seized from the MPLA. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, FALA General Staff officers in Jamba have challenged the MPLA-PT to prove the alleged presence of mercenaries in UNITA's ranks by capturing one of them. UNITA has already captured Namibian South-West African People's Organization soldiers captured in action in Cunene Province.

## UNITA Claims Capture of Huambo, Soyo

MB2001073693 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0500 GMT 20 Jan 93

["Communique" No. 7 issued by the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola General Staff in Huambo on 19 January]

[Text] 1. The petroleum city of Soyo fell into the hands of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] armed forces at 1140 hours [1040 GMT] on 19 January, and many foreigners, mostly Portuguese, including a British citizen and a Mozambican national were taken captive. A considerable amount of military equipment was captured, and some People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA] soldiers and officials handed themselves over to UNITA. All residents of Soyo do not hide their joy at being free from Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] chieftains' oppression. The UNITA armed forces in the northern front will defend the resistance's conquests to its maximum, and all FAPLA provocations could result in serious losses. The people know that the petroleum companies were the biggest architects of the electoral fraud in our country, where democracy is but a farce. We shall give more details on the capture of Soyo.

2. In other battle fronts such as Huambo, Menongue, Moxico, Saurimo and Malanje, clashes are still intense, and FAPLA is showing a marked tendency to destroy the cities with its aircraft. This general staff will not spare efforts to restore the truth and justice of our dignity as Angolans and Africans at whatever cost and whatever time it takes.

3. We are still open to dialogue with the MPLA and FAPLA once the contents of the dialogue have been clearly defined and the accords to be reached are determined. This general staff did not reject the Addis Ababa meeting, but does not understand why the UN secretary general's 6-point plan handed over to the UNITA leadership by Dr. Margaret Anstee, special representative of the UN secretary general, was put aside to be replaced by a meeting between military officers. Also, our legitimate demands for the unconditional release of our colleagues in Luanda and the cessation of physical and political pressure over them are still a major obstacle for our armed forces' belief in the regime's good faith. This is aggravated by the MPLA chairman's speech on 15 January, which dissipated the illusions of many people that Angola would soon be peaceful. After the 30 and 31 October and 1 November 1992 events, the issue of peace in Angola and the dialogue for the crisis can no longer be a problem of feeling or appeals, but of concrete steps which would lead us to believe that the international community and Portugal in particular intend to gain understanding of the reality of the crisis.

Our fatherland first, to win or die.

[Issued] Huambo, 19 January 1993

[Signed] Arlindo Chenda Pena Ben-Ben, chief of the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola and army general

### **Government Confirms Fall of Soyo**

*MB2001202093 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 20 Jan 93*

[Text] The following is a communique just in from the General Staff of the Angolan Armed Forces, FAA.

The General Staff informs the public opinion that after two days of violent clashes between government forces and National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] troops backed by Zairian and mercenary forces, the government forces were forced to withdraw from the town of Soyo, culminating in the latter's occupation by UNITA.

In Huambo, clashes are continuing. The clashes have reached extremely violent and destructive proportions. Many human and material casualties have been sustained by combat forces and civilians.

FAA assures the Angolan people that it will use all its might to uphold the democratic gains of the Angolan people and the nation's territorial integrity.

[Issued] FAA General Staff in Luanda on 20 January 1993

### **19 Foreigners Missing in Soyo**

*MB2101070693 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 0500 GMT 21 Jan 93*

[Text] Nineteen foreigners are reported to be missing in Angola following UNITA's [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] attack on Soyo in the north of that country.

Seventeen men are believed to be in the hands of UNITA after being captured at an oil company base, but the whereabouts of two British nationals are not known. The men were left behind at the base when a French helicopter pilot was shot dead as he tried to evacuate them earlier this week. UNITA leader Dr. Jonas Savimbi has indicated that some of the men will be released soon.

Meanwhile, it's reported from the central city of Huambo, that UNITA appears to have gained the upper hand there.

### **UNITA Captures Chiede**

*MB2101093393 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0500 GMT 21 Jan 93*

[Text] Reliable information received from the city of Huambo says the patriotic and revolutionary Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] continue to inflict heavy blows on the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA] and the riot police on the battlefield, having already reduced their offensive power

over the past few hours. FALA forces have captured important and strategic military structures; notably, the airport, the People's Air Force of Angola/Air Defense barracks, the biggest riot police base, as well as the TPA's provincial installation. The Air Force of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party, in despair, continues to indiscriminately bomb civilians, using toxic or chemical products, killing many people and destroying property.

The area of Chiede in Cunene Province has been under the control of the FALA forces over the past 48 hours. According to a FALA military source in the region, Chiede was captured following heavy clashes between UNITA troops and MPLA-PT's FAPLA forces. According to the source, FALA forces killed and wounded many government troops and captured AGF-17 weapons, 82-mm mortars, and a quantity of lethal material.

### **'Fierce Clashes' in Santa Clara**

*MB2001192793 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 1200 GMT 20 Jan 93*

[Text] Fierce clashes are taking place in Santa Clara Commune, Cunene Province. The government troops, backed by South-West African People's Organization [SWAPO] soldiers, are fighting against soldiers protecting National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] establishments. The People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola-SWAPO coalition has suffered a large number of injured. The casualties have been evacuated to Oshigambo Hospital in Namibia.

A reliable source says there is a corridor between Angola and Namibia which facilitates the entry of Sam Nujoma's soldiers into Angola. Large quantities of war materiel have been provided to the coalition. The clashes in Santa Clara fit within the framework of the Futungo de Belas plan to expel UNITA from cities.

### **Namibian Aircraft Said Arming UNITA**

*MB2001180093 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0600 GMT 20 Jan 93*

[Text] Angolan airspace continues to be violated by unidentified aircraft. Cargo planes coming in from Rundu Airport, Namibia, have landed in Mucusso area, where, according to government sources, they have unloaded arms for the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola.

Meanwhile, Namibia's Commercial Aviation [preceding two words in English] company has been identified as one of the companies involved in unauthorized flights into Angola. Systematic violations of the Angolan airspace has also been reported in Luena, capital of Moxico Province.

**MPLA Reportedly Bombs Menongue**

*MB2101094393 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0500 GMT 21 Jan 93*

[Text] The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party's [MPLA-PT] MiG-21 war planes coming from Lubango, Huila Province, have once again dropped chemical bombs on the city of Menongue in Cuando Cubango Province. According to our correspondent in the province, the bombing took place on 18 January, killing and wounding many civilians. It will be noted that in its aggressive actions throughout the country, the MPLA-PT is using toxic or chemical bombs, which are causing many problems among the people, particularly children.

**Savimbi Interviewed on Fighting**

*MB2001142993 London BBC World Service in Portuguese 2035 GMT 19 Jan 93*

[Interview with UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi by reporter Joao van Dunem in Huambo on 19 January; from the "Last Minute" program]

[Text] In Angola the situation is deteriorating after an escalation in the military conflict. There are reports of violent clashes for control of Soyo in the north and Huambo in central Angola. Jonas Savimbi, leader of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], who has just spoken to us, said that his forces had the upper hand. Interviewed by our reporter Joao van Dunem, Savimbi spoke of his hesitation in opting for war, adding that only on 15 January did he assume control of the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola's [FALA] military command. The UNITA leader began by confirming the taking of Soyo:

[Begin recording] [Savimbi] I confirm that. Our movement's General Staff has already issued a communique in that regard. Soyo was captured at 1140 [1040 GMT] today. The clashes began yesterday morning, and several foreign experts, mostly Portuguese, and one Briton, (Rondrey Bruce Dickson), born on 22 July 1941, were captured. So, the taking of Soyo has been confirmed.

[Van Dunem] The fact that you are revealing these details—the name of the British citizen—means that you are in control of UNITA operations?

[Savimbi] I would like to say that I have been the most hesitant person. That is why in a recent interview I accepted that there was indecision on my part. My colleagues, particularly the military officers, were saying that Savimbi was undecided, because I believe that one should not commit a party or a people to war without thinking things over carefully. President dos Santos' speech on 15 January made me realize, however, that my worries were pointless. I am the one who was preventing the party and the armed forces from going into war because the consequences would be too ghastly to contemplate. I am, however, the one who has been ill-treated

by President dos Santos. So, I can no longer hold onto my position. You are the first person [words indistinct] I am telling you this: I did not issue any instructions to any UNITA unit before 15 January. After the meeting we held, during which the troops expressed their frustration about a number of issues, I said that we should explore the option of negotiations. Moreover, I did not discourage them from taking actions they wished to carry out. I told them, however, that we should give priority to dialogue, but when I heard President dos Santos' speech, I took full control of the armed forces command, and that will make a difference in Angola's war front.

[Van Dunem] Dr. Savimbi, UNITA dissident generals—or those who appear to be dissidents, like General Nunda—have told the BBC that you are the one who always takes a warmongering posture, though not formally. Is that true?

[Savimbi] That is not true. That general is a poor character who did not play any relevant role during the 16-year war. The fact is that he was working for Sukissa, who is the Riot Police commander here in Huambo, giving him information. The reality on the Huambo battleground revealed that his reports were false. That means that even his colleagues were suspicious of him. Those who attended the meetings can confirm that my position was always that we should not go to war because of the serious consequences. I represented a minority with perhaps one or two people on my side. Things developed and yet I was never enthusiastic about going to war.

As I speak to you from Huambo, I can tell you that yesterday I put on my general's uniform. Until yesterday I was in civilian clothes, but President dos Santos' speech discouraged me so much that I thought I was losing on both sides. My generals, who are in the bush, said: The president is undecided, and has been shaken by the election results. The other side, however, regards me as the militarist. So, what am I: Fish or meat? Yet, I can no longer refuse to fight.

I can give you another example. Those who have been to Huambo knew my house. Some of them were there for a short period. Today my house is in ruins. To be honest with you, the order for the Air Force to destroy my house could only have been given by Dos Santos. It could not have come from (Faceira) or Sukissa. I think President dos Santos is making it easier for those who represent UNITA's most radical position.

[Van Dunem] Dr. Savimbi, there are reports that white mercenaries and Zairian army units are fighting alongside UNITA. Do you confirm or deny that?

[Savimbi] That is not true. The claim was made in a communique issued by Joao de Matos yesterday. The communique said Zairian soldiers and white mercenaries were fighting alongside UNITA soldiers in Soyo. It also stated that we had 10,000 men in Huambo. I do not know him very well. I know other generals well, but he should be a good general in order to occupy his



present post. He was preparing public opinion for a disaster, and in case Soyo fell they could claim that Soyo was captured by Zairians and whites. He was preparing public opinion in case Huambo fell, and so he spoke of 10,000 men.

No one believes that—not even the observers in Luanda. President Mobutu has his own problems and does not have enough soldiers to send to UNITA. We do not need those troops. The MPLA is used to fighting with Cuban backing, but during the last attack in 1989 UNITA fought on its own. So that is a lie; it is propaganda. That is why we will soon release the foreigners that we have captured in order to deny those claims. The fact is that we do not even have a foreign adviser, let alone foreign combat troops.

[Van Dunem] You say UNITA wants to negotiate. In view of the escalation of war and the change in the correlation of forces on the battle front, does it mean that your movement only wants to negotiate from a position of strength?

[Savimbi] No. When the statements issued by the other side unequivocally indicate a desire to negotiate....[changes thought] First, let me explain to you about the Addis Ababa meeting between the military officers. That has upset us a lot because there was dishonesty on the part of those who raised the issue. I do not want to mention names.

By 2 January we were planning to make both the civilian and military sides (?accept) the UN secretary general's proposals. We were only waiting for Ms. Anstee to bring us the proposals. She brought the proposals to my house in Huambo on 2 January. The proposals, however, did not mention anything about a meeting between the military chiefs. That was not part of the plan. In fact, there was a plan by the UN secretary general, which we fully accepted. They kept Ms. Anstee waiting for 10 days in Luanda. It was not UNITA that kept her waiting. When Ms. Anstee told me that she was coming to Huambo, I immediately set the time.

At the end of our discussion, General Chilingutilla told her privately that he had concluded from his meetings with General Higino that the latter and possibly General Joao de Matos would come to Huambo for an informal meeting. She was not informed about this in Luanda, but at my house and by Chilingutilla. So, (?Chilingutilla) felt abused when we saw that it was not the secretary general's plan that had come to light, but instead a meeting between the military chiefs. [end recording]

That was an excerpt of Jonas Savimbi's interview. In his interview, Savimbi said he was willing to talk to UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali.

### Notes Possibility of Elections

MB2001063693 London BBC World Service in English  
0500 GMT 20 Jan 93

[From the "Newshour" program introduced by Julian Porter]

[Text] In Angola it looks as though UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] forces led by Jonas Savimbi are fighting back hard in response to a determined offensive by MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] government troops. UNITA is reported to have taken control of the important oil town of Soyo on Angola's northwestern coast. Dozens of foreign oil workers have been caught up in the fighting, either being forced to flee to offshore installations or being captured by UNITA, and Dr. Savimbi's fighters also appeared to be doing well in the battle for their central stronghold of Huambo, because it was from there that Dr. Savimbi himself was able to tell me about the latest military position inside the city.

[Begin recording] [Savimbi] We have an upper hand and the government itself has admitted that we have 10,000 men, and to have 10,000 men in a town like Huambo, I think that that is [word indistinct]. There is just a small area where the government is trying to resist, but I think that this is just a matter of hours.

[Porter] Has it been what you could characterize as a major battle, have a lot of people been killed?

[Savimbi] Definitely, because we have had some towns taken in the north, like Soyo which took only one day, but now we are on the tenth day here in Huambo, and I think [word indistinct] is almost [word indistinct], and so many people were killed, but anyway, we think that we have (?interest vested in this town), that UNITA cannot give up.

[Porter] What though does UNITA do now? The organization appears to have made military games on the ground but what happens next?

[Savimbi] Now what we want is to talk. We never refused a dialogue with the government, we never refused at all. No one can have a military victory unless there is a political settlement, and the secretary general of the United Nations had put forward a plan to us in six points which we have approved, we have accepted. If all those elements of the plan of the secretary general of the United Nations are put in place, then we can both organize a (?run-off).

[Porter] But after the events of the past few months since the election in September, you can't seriously be contemplating taking part in a run off election for the presidency with Mr. Dos Santos?

[Savimbi] Definitely, it is necessary and it is part of the program of the secretary general of the United Nations. It is necessary to have a cease-fire, and the cease-fire has

to be observed by the United Nations. That is the problem that we are having in our country.

[Porter] Do you in any sense accept that you are now again a rebel leader fighting against the government which has some small degree of legitimacy?

[Savimbi] No, not at all. I consider myself as a candidate. We were, I think 14 candidates. We remained two—him and me. I think that it is in that position that I am speaking. [end recording]

### **Government To Question Pretoria's Aid to UNITA**

*MB2101091993 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 20 Jan 93*

[Text] The Angolan Government will ask the South African army for clarification on Pretoria's alleged assistance to the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] in its armed conflict with the government forces. The ANGOLAN PRESS AGENCY learned this today from Manuel Augusto, Angolan charge d'affaires in South Africa. The Angolan diplomat said Pretoria has the historic opportunity to dissociate itself from the belligerence of UNITA and its leader Savimbi because they are the enemies not only of Angola, but also of South Africa.

### **Zairian Envoy Denies 'Direct Involvement' in War**

*MB2001150993 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0600 GMT 20 Jan 93*

[Text] The Angolan Government yesterday expressed concern at the involvement of Zairian soldiers in the Angolan war alongside National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] soldiers. A government protest note was presented to (Nkolo Nkoku), first counselor of the Zairian Embassy in Angola, who represented his ambassador.

(Nkolo Nkoku) denied Zaire's direct involvement in the matter, saying Zaire would not endanger the atmosphere of good neighborliness between the two countries. He admitted, however, that high-ranking Zairian officials have given assistance to UNITA.

### **Commentary on Zaire's 'Interfering.'**

*MB2001171493 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1200 GMT 20 Jan 93*

[Station commentary]

[Text] The serious conflict that is once again bleeding Angola has revived two bitter facts that the history of our nation will always remember. The first is that Mobutu Sese Seko's Zaire is particularly keen on interfering in Angolan affairs. The second is that Jonas Malheiro Savimbi is for Angola what Joseph Mengele was for the Jews—the angel of death.

The news media has repeatedly reported, either based on its own sources or on sources close to the Angolan Armed Forces, facts about Zaire's involvement in operations of a nature that are markedly hostile to Angola, a country with which it maintains, after all, normal relations in the diplomatic, commercial and cultural fields.

Recently, a young agent who defected from the secret services of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] in order to avoid murdering the occupants of an Angolan Airlines aircraft, said that a substantial part of his training had been given in Zaire. It is also through Zaire that arms, equipment, and provisions reach UNITA. In addition to that, mercenaries are given facilities in Zaire in order to enter Angola and assist UNITA to wage its nefarious and criminal war against the whole nation. In 1975, history recorded those episodes that are being revived 18 years later.

Zaire's policy toward Angola (?has never been aimed at bring the people) closer. After all, people are only interested in taking advantage of the fact that they are neighbors. Mobutu Sese Seko, who is entangled in his worst political crisis ever, does not seem to have understood that by insisting on backing Savimbi he is only betting on a defeated general who is a victim of his own excesses and fantasies.

Honestly, the Angolan people expect nothing from Jonas Savimbi. A potential president who gets confused between running a country and committing genocide and a politician who cannot distinguish between civilization and barbarism means tragedy. When the leader of a political party, who was defeated at free and fair elections, says that he will put on his general uniform to wage war, he is merely confirming his total inability to live in a democracy. Those who have heard Jonas Savimbi on the BBC, announcing his complete willingness to wage war, would have certainly cast aside any illusions and hopes about the rehabilitation of a man who seems to have been born solely to sow death. Let us hope that it will not only be Angolans who will understand the true nature of a man who has even run for president of a nation which needs peace and life.

### **UNITA Officers Reportedly Abandon Organization**

*MB2001185193 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1200 GMT 20 Jan 93*

[Excerpt] A total of 64 National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] troops have abandoned Jonas Savimbi and surrendered to the government authorities. The group includes lieutenant colonels, majors, lieutenants, and soldiers. Civilians have also abandoned Savimbi.

Today, a group of eight former UNITA militants was in our studios and revealed new details about UNITA's warmongering attitude. Lieutenant Colonel Antonio Joaquim Pedro Bumba said he does not believe in war as a solution to Angola's (?problems).

[Begin recording] [Bumba] We fought for 16 years in order to achieve democracy. We think that the people have elected a legitimate government, and there is no need to resume war. When we fought, we said it was because of the Cubans and Russians, who have since left Angola.

Instead of beginning national reconstruction, we are fighting another war. It is a war against ourselves. There is no justification for this war. That has prompted me to abandon UNITA and join a legitimate government.

[Reporter] Are you the only one to think along those lines?

[Bumba] There are others.

[Reporter] Are they many?

[Bumba] Yes, they are.

[Reporter] Do you think that others will follow you?

[Bumba] Yes, I do. [end recording]

Antonio Joaquim Pedro Bumba was deputy logistics chief on the western front, based in Cunene Province. Until his defection, he served as UNITA's secretary for Cahama District.

[passage omitted]

#### **UNITA Sympathizers Reportedly Executed in Cunene**

*MB2001200493 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 1200 GMT 20 Jan 93*

[Text] More than 386 National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] sympathizers were publicly executed by firing squad in Ndjiva, Cunene Province, and in the Cuanhama, Namacunde and Cahama Districts between 5 and 15 January. The government police have arrested 133 other UNITA sympathizers, following instructions received by Cunene Province Governor Pedro Mutinde.

#### **UNITA Criticized for Backing Out of Talks**

*MB1901204993 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 19 Jan 93*

[Station commentary]

[Text] War is definitely not a solution to Angola's problems. To think otherwise would be both simplistic and unrealistic because the facts speak for themselves: When war is waged thousands of innocent citizens are lost, there is incitement to hatred, and differences of opinion are encouraged, and in the end everything is settled at the negotiating table anyway.

The drama and suffering of the Angolan people, which have gone beyond what human beings can endure,

demand that talks begin without further delay. In an unequivocal show of its sense of responsibility, the Angolan Government recently proposed to the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] the resumption of dialogue at the level of military chiefs in order to try to halt the ongoing spiral of violence in the country.

The UNITA leadership took 10 days to reply, as if the seriousness of Angola's problems, particularly the tragedy faced by the citizens, could withstand such lack of seriousness and insight. Once the proposal for dialogue and Addis Ababa as a venue for the meeting of military chiefs was formally approved, UNITA, showing contempt for everyone, used last minute excuses to yet again abort an attempt at negotiations.

Obviously, UNITA was not at all interested in taking part in the Addis Ababa talks, and that in itself explains UNITA's decision to introduce preconditions without even bothering to inform the government or the UN mission in Angola. The communique issued by the illegal Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola on 18 January only served to confirm what everyone already knew: UNITA is bent on establishing a military situation clearly favorable to its men. Accordingly, it says it is unacceptable to negotiate while a dagger is at its throat, and then seeks varied resources, including foreign backing, notably Zairian army personnel and mercenaries.

UNITA can no longer hide its vulgar appeal for political and military hatred when it stated in its communique that what happened in Luanda in October and November will be met with an appropriate response, and that the destruction of the UNITA president's residence in Huambo will have to be avenged.

It is very difficult for someone to believe in the argument that UNITA persistently uses, that it defends the oppressed, when one sees that selfishness, unbridled ambition, and megalomania of a [words indistinct] dreamer, that goes by the name of Savimbi, serve to confirm that barbarism would be established in Angola through an organization that has never been a political party.

#### **UNITA Radio Reacts to UN Observers Communique**

*MB1901150493 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 1200 GMT 19 Jan 93*

[Station commentary]

[Text] The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] has learned of a communique issued by the observers of the Angolan peace process regarding our position on the Addis Ababa meeting. The observers' communique says UNITA is responsible for the failure of that meeting.

UNITA believes the observers' position, as expressed in their communique, reveals serious shortcomings because it sides with the undemocratic line adopted by the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party [MPLA-PT], which is bent on having Angola surrender to a one-party system and a bloodthirsty dictatorship. The observers had already criticized UNITA during the Uige, Negage, and Ndalatando events. The same observers, however, kept quiet when Spain violated the triple zero option by training and arming the Riot Police in violation of the Bicesse Accord, and despite our protests about the massacres in Malange, Luanda, Dondo, Sumbe and district areas, and Lubango, where UNITA was asked to disarm its men in line with accords reached under the auspices of the UN Angola Verification Mission-2, as well as in Benguela, Lobito, Cunene, Saurimo, and Luena.

The deaths of UNITA Vice President Engineer Calandula Chitunda, Engineer Elias Salupeto Pena, and thousands of UNITA sympathizers, militants, and cadres deserved no comment on the part of the observers. We would like to remind them that the cadres murdered and arrested in Luanda and in other Angolan cities were there on a peace mission, like the observers.

UNITA believes the biased criticism made by the observers, at a time when the process has plunged into a profound crisis, amounts to connivance with the policy of genocide followed by the MPLA-PT government. Yet, UNITA still believes in a peaceful solution to the Angolan crisis through negotiations between the two sides—namely, the MPLA-PT government and UNITA.

### Malawi

#### Voters' Registration Slated for 8-22 Feb

EA2001094393 Blantyre Malawi Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1030 GMT 19 Jan 93

[Text] The registration of voters for the purpose of the forthcoming national referendum will be held from the 8th to the 22nd of next month [February]. According to a government gazette, the National Referendum Commission has appointed the acting clerk of Parliament, Mr. David Bwanali, as supervisor of registration on referendum with effect from 12 January.

The notice in the gazette further said the commission also appointed all district commissioners to be registration officers during the registration exercise. The district commissioners have also been authorized to appoint not more than five staff for the purpose of the registration of voters. The voting age in Malawi is 21.

#### Opposition Views Support for Rallies, Government

MB1901143993 London BBC World Service in English 0330 GMT 19 Jan 93

[From the "Network Africa" program introduced by Carolyn Dempster]

[Text] We turn fast to Malawi where there now seems to be a growing tide of people prepared to show opposition to the country's president, Dr. Banda. The details of the political rallies at the weekend have started to emerge. In fact, the official MALAWI NEWS AGENCY says that one opposition meeting drew 30,000 people, whilst a nearby rally held by the ruling party had to be canceled because only four party officials turned up. These were the first campaign meetings concerning the referendum on whether to end one-party rule, which is due to be held on March the 15th. Well, Heatherwick Ntaba, who is publicity secretary for the ruling Malawi Congress Party [MCP] is visiting London. I spoke to him earlier and asked him how he had accounted for so few people at his party's rally.

[Begin recording] [Ntaba] That is a complete misrepresentation of what actually happened. This specific incident occurred at a place in Machinga, where two mass rallies, one for the Malawi Congress Party, and the other one for the UDF [United Democratic Front] were scheduled and given permission to take place at the same site. The way we thought was best to resolve that situation was to cancel both rallies. The police gave such particular instruction, the Malawi Congress Party obeyed and canceled their rally, the UDF, of course, did not obey, they went ahead with their mass rally. So, it is not a question of very few people turning [out] for the Malawi Congress Party, the situation is as I put it to you. So, earlier representation to the contrary is not correct.

[Dempster] But nonetheless thousands of people seem to have turned up for an opposition rally. Is that a surprise to you?

[Ntaba] Thousands of people turned out for a rally at one venue, where both the Malawi Congress Party and the UDF were going to address a rally. Now, I don't think you can be 100 percent sure. You cannot say that all those people who turned up at that mass rally were coming for the UDF rally, because an MCP rally was also announced for the same place. But we do expect some people to show up at the opposition mass rallies, of course, that is not surprising.

[Dempster] Well, I mean, it is quite surprising in that they don't have a lot of publicity and [word indistinct] a mood of political changes in your country, do you not feel?

[Ntaba] Well, I think it is a myth that they do not have a lot of publicity. They do have publicity. Of course, they have ways of communicating with the people in the villages, ways of communicating with people in the towns. They are getting their messages across.

[Dempster] [Word indistinct] as I understand it, Dr. Banda has always said that he is [word indistinct] this referendum, but he has always said that he feels the people will vote against a multiparty system [words indistinct] vote for a one-party system. Doesn't this show that actually there is a political mood in the country, people do want to vote for an opposition?



[Ntaba] No, the life president is entitled to an opinion like anybody else, and his assessment, he believes the majority of Malawians would want to stay with the one-party system, and he has stated that openly several times. There are also huge numbers of people turning out for the Malawi Congress Party rallies, which you do not hear anything about. It is not that sensational to report huge Malawi Congress Party rallies, but they are taking place. The numbers of people who are turning out for the opposition rallies will, of course, be very greatly inflated, but all the same we agree, there are people who are turning around for the opposition rallies, whether that number of support is much, much larger than the number of support the MCP supporters is a question which we can assure you from our own assessment, there is no match. The supporters for the Malawi Congress Party is still a much, much larger number.

[Dempster] I have felt that the two main opposition groups are unhappy about the timetable of the referendum and how it has been conducted. They said that they may boycott it if they are not happy about how it is being conducted. What is your response to that?

[Ntaba] It is very difficult to see any opposition group being happy with anything that the government does, not only in Malawi, but this is the case in any country. I have never seen an opposition group that is happy with what the government is doing. They have always called for an immediate referendum. The opposition groups in Malawi have also always expressed the conviction that the referendum held any time today, as a matter of fact in Malawi, would result in a massive win for their side. They have always stated this, many, many times. The Malawi Government has said okay, fine, let's hold this referendum in two or two and a half months from the date that the announcement was announced. Now they are saying they don't have enough time, they need more time. That is very surprising to us. We don't know what they really want. [end recording]

#### UDF Spokesman Comments

MB2001115993 London BBC World Service in English  
0330 GMT 20 Jan 93

[From the "Network Africa" program introduced by Carolyn Dempster]

[Text] Yesterday on Network Africa I spoke to Dr. Heatherwick Ntaba of the ruling Malawi Congress Party, about the promised referendum on whether to allow a multiparty system there. He supported the president, Dr. [Hastings] Banda's view, that the people of Malawi will vote to continue with the one-party system. He also strongly denied reports that a government rally in Machinga only attracted five people. According to Dr. Ntaba, who is the government's publicity secretary, what happened is that both the Malawi Congress Party and the opposition group, the UDF [United Democratic Front], planned rallies at the same place, so the police decided to cancel them both. But, he said, the UDF ignored the

cancellation. Well, Krishna Ajitun is an active member of the UDF, and I asked him about the significance of this and other similar rallies:

[Begin recording] [Ajitun] I was there personally, and I can vouch for it that there were close to 4,500 people. The impression that I got from the people was that they are genuinely interested in a multiparty system, and they wanted to know what the UDF is all about, and what multiparty democracy is all about. Hence the reason why people are turning up to attend these rallies.

[Dempster] So they're not necessarily your supporters, then?

[Ajitun] Well, I can say quite confidently they are more than just our supporters. I pass judgment on the basis of what their reactions are, their response, really.

[Dempster] Why do you think that people won't turn out to a government rally? Wouldn't they find out about multiparty politics from such a rally then?

[Ajitun] No, they wouldn't. I think it's because they get a very distorted view of what multiparty is all about from those kind of rallies, which I think would be only natural, because you are competing for a referendum.

[Dempster] What will happen if you lose the referendum, and people choose to stay with the one-party state? Will the UDF accept that vote?

[Ajitun] Well, at this moment in time I know the UDF have informed the government that they will not take part in the referendum, due to various issues that have come about. Unless the government decides to run a referendum based on the UN report, then there will definitely be a participant.

[Dempster] Well, if I can clear that up, are you actually saying that you're boycotting the referendum as of now?

[Ajitun] No, we are objecting to participating. The UDF and Aford [Alliance for Democracy] pressure groups are objecting to take part in that referendum.

[Dempster] And at what stage will you decide to take part?

[Ajitun] I would imagine that, since we have a Public Affairs Committee and the Presidential Committee for Dialogue in existence, I think if the two parties do meet, they would be able to find an amicable solution to this problem.

[Dempster] I wonder if you can tell me what the mood is in the country, generally? I mean, not just at your rallies. I mean, there's been a lack of multiparty politics in Malawi. Are people interested? Is there a buzz about politics and all the issues involved?

[Ajitun] I think people are very interested, and I think the tendency now is for people to talk about it very freely and openly. People tend to become more aware of what a multiparty system is all about, and then they compare

it to the existing system, and I think everybody's looking forward to see that some sort of peaceful and meaningful change does take place as a result of this mood.

[Dempster] And the UDF, what plans do you have for more rallies in the future?

[Ajitun] There is a rally scheduled for this coming Saturday at Lilongwe, which is a very important one for the UDF. On Sunday they will be in Thyolo and Mulanje.

[Dempster] What actually takes place?

[Ajitun] Well, basically, the speakers talk to the people about multiparty, its beneficial aspects, and they also point out to the people about the detrimental points of a one-party system.

[Dempster] Dr. Ntuba said yesterday that people turn out to your rallies because they just want to find out what's going on.

[Ajitun] No, I don't think so. I think it's because they support the change. [end recording]

### Mozambique

#### Envoy Says UK Not To Sell Military Equipment

MB1901161593 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 19 Jan 93

[Text] Great Britain has no intention of selling military equipment to Mozambique. This was revealed by British Ambassador in Maputo (Richard Herbert), cited by the independent bulletin MEDIAFAX. He added that Mozambique has to make substantial cuts in its military expenditure.

In April 1992 Great Britain proposed training the Mozambique Armed Forces. The diplomat said the training is intended to contribute to the peace process. According to MEDIAFAX, the British proposal calls for an 18-month training period, costing 5 million pounds. When MEDIAFAX queried the reason for an 18-month period, the British ambassador said, quote, it is because we do not intend to involve ourselves militarily in Mozambique for the long term. From a military standpoint, Mozambique is not a priority for Great Britain, unquote.

#### Countries Agree To Provide Peace-Keeping Troops

MB2001180593 Maputo Radio Maputo in English 1100 GMT 20 Jan 93

[Text] Nine countries have so far agreed to provide troops for the UN peace-keeping operation to monitor the cease-fire and the elections in Mozambique. In a letter to the Security Council yesterday, Secretary General Dr. Butrus-Ghali named the potential troop donors as Argentina, Bangladesh, Brazil, Cape Verde, Egypt, Italy, Malaysia, Sweden, and Uruguay.

The Council voted unanimously on December the 16th to establish the UN Operation in Mozambique, UNOMOZ, comprising about 7,500 troops, police, and civilians.

The hard-pressed United Nations already has more than 50,000 troops and other personnel serving in peace-keeping operation as far afield as Yugoslavia, Cambodia, El Salvador, and south Lebanon.

UNOMOZ is to include five self-sufficient infantry battalions of 850 men each, as well as engineer battalions, three logistic companies, a headquarters company, and air, communications, medical, and movement control units, plus 354 military observers.

Mr. Butrus-Ghali's letter did not say how many troops each country was willing to provide. He also said he was still awaiting replies from a number of other governments.

UNOMOZ is estimated to cost more than 330 million [currency not given] by the time its initial mandate ends on October the 31st this year.

#### Renamo Demands Arming of Troops Until Demobilization

MB1901161393 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1500 GMT 19 Jan 93

[Text] In Maputo yesterday the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] demanded that its men should remain armed until demobilization begins, instead of surrendering their weapons when they are encamped. The MOZAMBIQUE INFORMATION AGENCY [AIM] says Renamo's demand was made at a meeting of the Cease-Fire Commission [CCF] and is contrary to the General Peace Accord.

The General Peace Accord clearly states that only the troops responsible for protecting the assembly and accommodation points for personnel of the two sides will carry arms. The accord further states that war materiel from both sides should be stored under UN supervision in a process that was scheduled to begin in mid-November 1992. The process failed to take off due to delays in fulfilling the accord's timetable.

AIM stresses that the dispute created by Renamo's demand should be discussed by the Supervision and Control Commission of the General Peace Accord which will hold another meeting in Maputo this week. AIM adds that the demand was made by Renamo's representative at the CCF.

#### Dispute Resolved

MB2001181893 Maputo Radio Maputo in English 1100 GMT 20 Jan 93

[Text] The dispute over the weapons belonging to the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] rebels has been resolved in an informal meeting held yesterday

between Renamo, government, and United Nations representatives. A UN source clarified that the real problem which emerged at the Monday [18 January] meeting of the Cease-Fire Commission, CCF, hinged on the lists of weaponry that both the government and Renamo are supposed to provide on a regular basis to the UN. Renamo had claimed that it would be unable to provide accurate lists of the weapons that would be taken to each one of the 20 assembly points where Renamo fighters are to be garrisoned. At yesterday's meeting, it was agreed that Renamo would provide this list on an aggregate basis.

Thus, Renamo will provide a list of the total number of weapons in each category that it possesses, but will not break that list down, assembly point by assembly point. The United Nations will then have the task of seeing whether all the weapons that turn up at the assembly points tally with the overall list provided by Renamo.

The UN spokesman said the government recognizes that Renamo may not have a perfect book-keeping system. He said they have promised that the numbers will be as accurate as possible, but Renamo has problems of data collection and management. He added that Renamo does accept that all weapons must be handed over to the United Nations immediately fighters arrive at the assembly points and that the UN will be responsible for storing the weaponry. The issue of the weapon's list has thus been amicably resolved.

#### **District Command Orders Renamo To Leave Savane**

*MB1701182693 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1730 GMT 17 Jan 93*

[Text] The Dondo District Military Command has contacted the commander of the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] base at Savane, 30 km from the district capital, telling him to withdraw his troops from the area by today. Our Beira correspondent reports that the decision follows instructions from the higher echelons of the government armed forces. Renamo personnel in Savane should move to its bases at either Dalundo or Macuacua.

A spokesman for the Renamo commander at Savane said his forces would only withdraw after orders had been received from their headquarters.

A Radio Mozambique journalist was in Savane yesterday to cover the distribution of foodstuffs to the residents.

#### **Commentary Says Western Governments Threaten Peace**

*MB1901172593 (Clandestine) Voz da Renamo in Portuguese 0500 GMT 19 Jan 93*

[Station commentary: "Western Governments Destabilize Peace in Mozambique"]

[Text] Ever since the signing of the Peace Accord in Rome in October 1992, the peace process is not unfolding as planned. Elections should have taken place one year after the signing of the accord, but the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] will not take part in elections unless the guarantees enshrined in the accord have been implemented. Moreover, conditions are not being created to accomplish that.

The transfer of 15,000 Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] troops and 3,000 SNASP [People's National Security Service] members to the People's Police constitutes a violation of the accord. The UN's failure to monitor the situation is a serious national security risk because the two armies still need to be encamped.

Meanwhile, Western governments are sending millions upon millions of dollars to the Frelimo government. Not only that, they have undertaken to take part in projects that are highly profitable for Frelimo.

That could only lead to the cancellation of the demilitarization process and the peace accord. Moreover, that state of affairs is biased against Renamo, which has fought for democracy, and the Mozambican people who expect to have a government that ensures freedom, justice, and a free market economy.

Frelimo has proven itself to be a corrupt organization. In Africa those who have money call the shots. Frelimo has just received DM14 million from the FRG which have been earmarked for national reconstruction. Who is controlling that sum in order to guarantee that it will indeed be spent in Mozambique's reconstruction instead of strengthening (the regime's arsenal) and even paying for mercenaries in a new war?

Frelimo should be concerned with the implementation of what it signed in Rome on 4 October 1992. Frelimo should pay its full attention to the accord, instead of handling dishonest plans which do not guarantee peace and democracy for Mozambique.

#### **Police 'Fire' on Striking Textile Workers in Nampula**

*MB1501161193 Maputo Radio Maputo in English 1100 GMT 14 Jan 93*

[Text] At least six people suffered gunshot wounds when police opened fire on striking textile workers in the northern Mozambican city of Nampula yesterday. According to today's edition of the Maputo newspaper NOTICIAS, the police took action when the strikers paralyzed the state-owned textile factory, TEXTMOC, in since mid-December attempted to take hostage the factory's production director Jose Manuel da Conceicao Batalia.

They have already kidnapped TEXTMOC's maintenance director Adsalao Sueia who has been held prisoner by strikers since Tuesday [12 January]. A group of TEXTMOC workers told the paper that the committee

representing the strikers had sent them to bring Mr. Batalia to the factory in order to clarify some matters. The said they used no violence against him. Eyewitnesses confirmed to NOTICIAS that the workers were escorting Mr. Batalia peacefully to the factory. They said there was no threat to Mr. Batalia's life and that it was the police who provoked scenes of violence.

The shooting caused panic in Nampula as passers-by fled from the clashes between police and strikers. Nine hundred and fifty TEXMOC workers are on strike and they were joined by a further 178 people who were recently made redundant by the factory management.

They are demanding five months back wages [as heard] they say the company owes them, plus a back dated pay rise for a total of 12 months, 1991 and 1992.

#### **Arouca Elected FUMO Leader at Maputo Congress**

*MB1701193993 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1730 GMT 17 Jan 93*

[Text] The first congress of the Mozambique United Front [FUMO], which began in Maputo yesterday, will end today with the election of the party's national leaders. A participant at the congress said women and youths played a leading role during the election of [words indistinct]. He said FUMO is certain that it will be the third largest opposition party. Surely, he added, FUMO will integrate the government to be formed after the first multiparty elections, with Dr. Domingos Arouca at its head.

The congress approved the party's statutes, reflecting the new reality. The party is now known as Mozambique United Front-Democratic Convergence Party, FUMO-PCD. A new party program as well as a political strategy have also been approved. Arouca was chosen as candidate in the upcoming presidential elections. He was also elected party leader. The National Directorate includes Dr. [name indistinct], Dr. Simao Cuamba, and Engineer Pedro Loforte.

A FUMO-PCD member criticized the present government, saying that the ruling party and the Mozambique National Resistance are quarreling about housing. He

added that the government shows no interest in creating conditions for the emerging political parties to have their own headquarters.

#### **Estimates Show Inflation Hit 50 Percent in 1992**

*MB1801165193 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 18 Jan 93*

[Text] Government estimates reveal that inflation reached 50 percent in December 1992, with the Gross Domestic Product suffering a real reduction of 1.4 percent. This was revealed in Maputo this morning by Bank of Mozambique Governor Adriano Maleiane during the opening of the Bank of Mozambique's 17th consultative council. The Bank of Mozambique's governor said the general growth of the Mozambican economy over the past two years was below 1 percent.

Last year, the government had outlined a restrictive economic program, setting the real increase of the Gross Domestic Product at 3 percent, which is above the annual average rate of population growth. Maleiane said the target was not achieved because of several reasons: the delay in the planned foreign aid supplied by the international community, the companies shortage of resources to finance spending, and the drought.

Adriano Maleiane also revealed the total credit which the national economy showed last year [words indistinct] accumulated expansion of over 216 million contos. He added that monetary forecasts show a significant improvement [words indistinct] international reserves.

### **Zambia**

#### **Government To Send Troops to Mozambique, Somalia**

*MB1501093193 Umtata Capital Radio in English 0900 GMT 15 Jan 93*

[Text] Zambia has agreed to send more than 1,450 troops to Somalia and Mozambique. Zambian Defense Minister Ben Mwila said at least 950 troops will be going to Mozambique to help monitor the cease-fire which ended 16 years of civil war there. Another 500 troops will be joining United Nations authorized forces in Somalia to try and restore order and help distribute food aid.



## Benin

### Minister Holo on Senegalese Withdrawal From ECOMOG

AB1501144593 Cotonou Office de Radiodiffusion-  
Television du Benin Radio in French 1930 GMT  
14 Jan 93

[Excerpts] Senegal decided on 13 January to withdraw its troops from the Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group [ECOMOG] in Liberia. ECOMOG will henceforth be deprived of one of its leading components. The Senegalese Government, facing violent clashes with Casamance separatists, needs its soldiers more than ever now to restore peace. National obligations have, therefore, compelled Senegal to withdraw its 1,500 soldiers from ECOMOG. The contingent has already lost 14 members in Liberia.

As current chairman of the Economic Community of West African States [ECOWAS], what then is Benin's reaction to Senegal's decision to withdraw its troops from ECOMOG? This morning, we talked to Professor Theodore Holo, Benin's foreign affairs minister and chairman of the committee of nine countries handling the Liberian crisis. He comments on the Senegalese decision:

[Begin Holo recording] In a way, we had been prepared for the Senegalese withdrawal from ECOMOG. Senegal and other countries assisting with ECOMOG operations, had already informed us of the imminent withdrawal. We understand the reasons for Senegal's decision today, to repatriate its troops. This withdrawal does not imply a lack of interest on Senegal's part to find a peaceful solution to the Liberian crisis.

First, it was at Charles Taylor's request that Senegal joined ECOMOG. Charles Taylor, who initially called for Senegalese participation to counterbalance Nigerian troops because he doubted their neutrality and objectivity, could no longer tolerate the presence of the Senegalese contingent. In his view, the Senegalese contingent had lost the credibility which justified its participation in ECOMOG.

As I said earlier, Senegal will continue to contribute toward finding a peaceful solution to the Liberian crisis because ECOMOG forces went to Liberia to maintain peace and order and not to act as belligerent forces. Senegal made a voluntary decision to join ECOMOG and it is its sovereign right to withdraw its forces because not all ECOWAS members were able to send contingents, and no one holds it against them. [passage omitted] [end recording]

## Burkina Faso

### Compaore Receives Togolese, Malian Emissaries

AB1701185993 Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion Nationale  
du Burkina Radio in French 1900 GMT 15 Jan 93

[Excerpts] The president of Burkina Faso this afternoon received Togolese and Malian emissaries. The first to be received were Mr. Barry Moussa Barque and Mr. Abou Koshigah, who brought a message from President Eyadema. Mr. Barque spoke to our reporter, Homer Toure, about talks with Blaise Compaore and the political situation in Togo:

[Begin recording] [Barque] I have a message from the Togolese president for the Burkina Faso head of state. This falls within the framework of the good neighborliness and cooperation which has always existed between our two countries, our two peoples, and our two heads of state.

[Toure] The mandate given by the Togolese sovereign national conference for the establishment of republican and democratic (?institutions) ended a few days ago. When is the new government going to be formed? Will the formation of this government take into consideration the wishes of the opposition for the equitable share of seats in that government?

[Barque] I think the head of state has reiterated the need to pursue the democratic process, which means organizing elections very quickly [words indistinct]. Concerning the composition of the government, perhaps the prime minister, who will be charged with forming the government, in consultation with political parties, will be able find a solution to this problem. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Another person seen by the head of state was the Malian minister of state for defense, Mr. Abdoulaye Sekou Sow, who has just ended a visit Burkina Faso. He talks about the purpose of his call on the head of state and uses the occasion to express his gratitude.

[Begin Sow recording] As I have already indicated, I came here on a friendly visit. This visit has given me the opportunity to be received by His Excellency, the president of the Republic. I also took the opportunity to deliver a message from his brother, President Alpha Oumar Konare. This is the main purpose of this visit to the president of the republic. It was also an occasion for my colleagues and I to brief the president on the working session we held. We examined a certain number of issues aimed at strengthening the cooperation between our two countries. You will hear more about this meeting later. [end recording]

## Cape Verde

### Veiga Rejects Idea of National Coalition Government

AB1701192293 Paris AFP in French 2032 GMT  
14 Jan 93

[Excerpt] Praia, 14 Jan (AFP)—Cape Verdean Prime Minister Carlos Veiga today rejected "the idea of a government of national coalition" on the occasion of the second anniversary of the Movement for Democracy, MPD's coming to power. Mr. Veiga, who was responding to a question at a news conference on his recent "call for social consultation," made it clear that "a government of national coalition is not necessary anymore especially when the MPD has a comfortable majority in Parliament."

During the first multiparty legislative elections in February 1991, which ended 18 years of a single party regime, the MPD obtained 56 out of the 79 seats in Parliament. Mr. Veiga, however, stated that his government remained "open to any competent Cape Verdean." [passage omitted]

## Ghana

### UK Overseas Development Minister Arrives in Accra

AB2101104593 Accra Ghana Broadcasting Corporation  
Radio Network in English 1300 GMT 20 Jan 93

[Text] The British minister in charge of overseas development, Baroness Lynda Chalker, arrived in Accra this morning from Lagos at the head of a three-member British Government delegation. Baroness Chalker told newsmen at the Kotoka International Airport that she is delighted to be here on her fifth official visit to Ghana in seven years, especially at the beginning of the Fourth Republic.

She said the delegation will discuss her country's aid program to Ghana with President Rawlings and his government, as well as review economic and political developments in the country.

She said Britain has been watching Ghana with pride with the enormous steps being taken to improve the economy. She said the multiparty political climate in Ghana is conducive for investment.

Baroness Chalker said she hopes to sign the double taxation agreement with the government today. She further hinted that there are a number of good things in the pipeline for Ghana, and emphasized that before she leaves tomorrow, she would have discussed a whole lot of ventures with the government.

Baroness Chalker said she will also discuss Ghana's role and generous contribution to the peace efforts in Liberia and events in Somalia and Sierra Leone. The delegation

was met at the airport by the acting foreign minister, Dr. Obed Asamoah, and officials of his ministry.

### Labor Unions Call for Review of 1993 Budget

AB2101105493 Accra Ghana Broadcasting Corporation  
Radio Network in English 1800 GMT 20 Jan 93

[Text] The Trade Union Congress [TUC] has asked the government to review the 1993 budget to promote industrial peace and mitigate the suffering of the majority of Ghanaians. This is contained in a statement representing the views of the 17 unions of the congress read by the secretary general, Mr. Christian Appia Adjei, at a news conference in Accra this morning. Abraham Nunoo now reports:

[Nunoo] The news conference was also attended by representatives of the Civil Servants Association and the Ghana National Association of Teachers in solidarity with organized labor. Mr. Adjei explained that the delay in making the views of the congress public stems from the fact that the TUC is a democratic institution and had to consult its members for their views on the budget. He commended the objectives of the budget to create at least 50,000 jobs, generate a surplus of \$240 million, and reduce inflation as laudable, but he doubted the ability of the national economy to achieve such objectives within this year. Mr. Adjei said the performance of the country's budgets in the past with regard to achieving such targets has been disappointing, and wondered how the objectives will be achieved.

The secretary general described as unfair the notion that last year's budget deficit of 176.6 billion cedis was largely incurred through salary increases and part payment of end of service benefits. He said the two items cost a total of 70 billion cedis and called on the government to account for the remaining 106.6 billion cedis. The TUC expressed concern about the Ministry of Transport and Communication's shirking its duty of fixing transport fares and burdening the GPRTU [Ghana Private Road Transport Union] and District Assemblies. It said the determination of the fares should not be left to market forces alone; the government should intervene.

The TUC is not surprised that the 1993 budget is without its normal tax reliefs, because in its view, the budget is intended to make a scapegoat out of wage earners. Mr. Adjei called on the government to act without delay on the following recommendations:

[Begin Adjei recording] We believe that in order to forestall another round of protracted negotiations, with all the attendant problems in the industrial scene, and also in order to mitigate the suffering of the majority of the population, the government must act without delay on the following recommendations:

1. Revise the petroleum prices substantially downward;
2. Defreeze the wages of employees of subvented [as heard] organizations;
3. Defreeze the recruitment of staff by subvented [as heard] organizations;

4. Put a stop to the wholesale divestiture of state-owned enterprises; and
5. Put a stop to the spate of retrenchment going on in government organizations and parastatals. [end recording]

## **Ivory Coast**

### **President Houphouet-Boigny Congratulates Clinton**

*AB1901221593 Abidjan Radio Cote d'Ivoire Chaine Nationale-Une Network in French 1900 GMT 19 Jan 93*

[Text] President Houphouet-Boigny has sent a congratulatory message to President-elect Bill Clinton, on the occasion of his inauguration.

President Houphouet-Boigny writes, and I quote: On the occasion of your inauguration to the Presidency of the United States of America, it is a pleasure for me to convey to you, on behalf of the people and the Government of the Ivory Coast as well as on my own behalf, my warmest and most sincere congratulations. I wish Your Excellency good health, happiness, and success in the exercise of your high office. I am convinced that your country, which is a great defender of the values of freedom and democracy, will make every effort under your leadership to strive for a more just, peaceful, and united world. In the execution of this exciting task, I wish to assure you that I am fully prepared to work closely with you in order to find solutions to the challenges facing our world today. I am sure that the relations of genuine friendship and trustworthy cooperation between our two countries will be strengthened in the best interest of our two peoples and for the triumph of solidarity among nations.

Signed: Felix Houphouet-Boigny

## **Liberia**

### **Interim President Sawyer Congratulates Clinton**

*AB2101101093 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English 0900 GMT 21 Jan 93*

[Excerpt] Interim President Amos Sawyer has sent a message of congratulations and best wishes to U.S. President Bill Clinton on his inauguration. An Executive Mansion release issued yesterday [20 January] said Dr. Sawyer, on behalf of the government and the Liberian people, hopes during the tenure of President Clinton, Liberia and that country will continue to work jointly in the interest of their two countries and the establishment of a world that is based on freedom, justice, and equality.

The charge d'affaires of the Liberian Embassy in Washington, D.C., Mr. Konah Blackett, represented the government and people of Liberia at the inauguration program upon the invitation extended to the Interim Government of National Unity. [passage omitted]

### **NPRA Expresses 'Optimism'**

*AB2001201293 Gbarnga Radio ELBC in English 1900 GMT 20 Jan 93*

[Text] The NPRA [National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly] Government has congratulated Mr. Bill Clinton on his inauguration as America's 42d president. An Information Ministry release expresses the hope that President Clinton's ascendancy to the White House will bring renewed zeal to the democratic people of America in their quest to find amicable solutions to global problems which have confronted the world during the 12-year rule of the Republicans.

Lamenting U.S.-Liberia relations over the past years, the NPRA Government expressed optimism that during the administration of Bill Clinton, the U.S. Government would play a more positive and objective role in the search of peace in Liberia, Africa, and world. According to the Information Ministry, the NPRA Government looks forward to closer working relations with the new American administration in helping to restore peace, reconstruct the nation, and establish genuine democracy acceptable to all Liberians.

### **Taylor Says 'No Military Victory' Possible in Crisis**

*AB2001122593 Gbarnga Radio ELBC in English 1900 GMT 19 Jan 93*

[Text] The Liberian leader, President Charles Gankay Taylor says there is a need to stop the war in Liberia. The president repeated that there can be no military victory to the Liberian crisis. President Taylor stressed that the crisis could go on for years and there could be no military victory on any side. The president warned that there could be an escalation of the conflict should he be eliminated by anyone.

Meanwhile, the National Patriotic Front of Liberia [NPFL] says it has not lost control over areas captured by it since the renewed hostilities as a result of ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group]'s unprovoked attack on the NPFL.

In a BBC interview, the commander in chief, President Taylor, said the NPFL has cut back its military activities in compliance with the UN Security Council Resolution 788 which called for a cease-fire among warring factions in the Liberian conflict. The president said it is the NPFL's determination to abide by the Security Council resolution which calls for a halt to all hostilities. He said the NPFL, particularly relinquished areas that opposed its forces at the frontline in order to protect itself from the aerial bombardments by ECOMOG planes.

On the question of losing the Roberts International Airport, the commander in chief said ECOMOG has not come through to the area and never will.



**Senegal's Diouf Hails UN Involvement in Liberia***AB2001122193 Gbarnga Radio ELBC in English 1900 GMT 19 Jan 93*

[Text] The chairman of the Organization of African Unity, Senegalese President Abdou Diouf, said the involvement of the United Nations in bringing lasting peace to Liberia is an important step forward in the Liberian conflict. According to an Information Ministry release, the Senegalese foreign minister made the statement recently in Paris on Radio Deutsche Welle. He said the Senegalese Government may also rule out any future involvement of his country in the Liberian crisis.

**Vice President Urges Negotiated Settlement to Crisis***AB1901123393 Gbarnga Radio ELBC in English 1900 GMT 18 Jan 93*

[Text] The vice president, Major Enoch Dogolee, said if steps taken by former U.S. President Jimmy Carter and the president of Benin, Nicéphore Soglo, were applied and implemented, the problems in Liberia would have been resolved. In a release to LBS [Liberian Broadcasting System] news, General [title as heard] Dogolee said the same situation which Babangida and his cohorts have inflicted upon Liberian people will one day be encountered by some African leaders, who are today humiliating and persecuting Liberians. He said some West African leaders have quickly forgotten the struggle for freedom and have elected to neglect the liberation struggle of other countries, something which he said is cruel to African brotherhood.

Vice President Dogolee further said Liberians will never endorse the senseless death of their fellow Africans in Liberia, but it is the same wicked West African politicians, who have sent the plotters with their personal agenda to Liberia that are causing the death of ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] soldiers in Liberia. He appealed to all leaders within the subregion to seek a negotiated settlement to the Liberian crisis.

**Mali****Decree Announces Changes in Government Departments***AB1501195293 Bamako Radiodiffusion-Television du Mali Radio in French 2000 GMT 12 Jan 93*

[Text] By decree No. 93/009/PRM of 11 January 1993, modifying a previous decree relating to the shared duties between the presidency of the Republic, the prime minister's office, and the ministries, the general headquarters of state security shall henceforth be placed under the direct authority of the prime minister, while and the Department of State Protocol shall be attached to the Ministry of External Relations.

This is a communique issued from the presidency. These two departments were previously under the authority of the presidency.

**Nigeria****Bilateral Talks With Niger Republic Open in Abuja***AB2001115693 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 1500 GMT 19 Jan 93*

[Text] Nigeria and the Niger Republic have opened talks in Abuja on bilateral relations. The prime minister of Niger Republic, Mr. Amadou Cheiffou, represents his country in the discussions with Nigeria's head of government, Chief Ernest Shonekan. Mr. Amadou Cheiffou arrived in Abuja yesterday [18 January] on a two-day official visit to Nigeria. He is scheduled to pay a courtesy call on President Ibrahim Babangida before leaving for home.

**Leaders Issue Communique***AB2001123093 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 0600 GMT 20 Jan 93*

[Text] Nigeria and Niger Republic are to strengthen their cooperation on political, economic, and educational fields. This was contained in a communique signed by the chairman of the Transitional Council, Chief Ernest Shonekan, and the prime minister of Niger Republic, Mr. Amadou Cheiffou, in Abuja yesterday. The two leaders commended the efforts of the Nigeria-Niger Joint Commission to strengthen bilateral and economic cooperation and to expedite action on all outstanding matters on West African economic cooperation. They reaffirmed their commitment to ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] as an instrument for promoting economic integration and self-reliant development of the peoples of the subregion. They restated their conviction that peaceful settlement of disputes was essential for the creation of a conducive climate for subregional cooperation.

**Transitional Council Head Meets UK Minister Chalker***AB1901122393 Lagos NTA Television Network in English 2000 GMT 18 Jan 93*

[Text] The chairman of the Transitional Council and head of government, Chief Ernest Shonekan, today gave an assurance that the 1993 budget will be a realistic one. Chief Shonekan said this when he received British Overseas Development Minister Lady Lynda Chalker. Correspondent Mohamed Kudu Abubakar has the report:

[Begin recording] Chief Ernest Shonekan also assured that the 1993 budget will be presented before the end of this month at an agreed date with the National Assembly. The head of government noted that after presenting what he called a plausible budget, Nigeria's



creditors will agree that the nation is serious in revamping her economy. Chief Shonekan urged the creditors to consider the credibility and standing of members of the Transitional Council and allow reasonable agreement in resolving the debt burden which, he noted, has undermined developmental efforts.

The chairman pledged that the Transitional Council will continue to carry the media and the people along in their collective efforts to revamp the economy. He also called for an improvement in the low-level of trade and investment between Nigeria and Britain and disclosed plans by Nigeria to organize an economic conference that will discuss obstacles militating against the investment, especially in the nonoil sector in the country.

Chief Shonekan expressed support for the provision of modern training facilities and equipment for the police force in combating contemporary sophisticated crimes and urged Britain to assist in this regard. He also called for international cooperation in combating the illegal drug trade and assured that the Federal Government would take decisive action against perpetrators.

Mrs. Lynda Chalker assured the Transitional Council chairman of Britain's readiness to help Nigeria out of her economic predicaments. She says a senior British police adviser will be in Nigeria next week to assist in the fight against drug trafficking, fraud, and violent crimes.

The British minister is the first official visitor received by Chief Shonekan who moved into his permanent office at the ministerial secretariat, Abuja, today.

Also today, the Transitional Council chairman received the prime minister of the Republic of Niger, Mr. Amadou Cheiffou, who is on a one-day official visit to Nigeria. The Niger Republic prime minister will lead his country's delegation at a bilateral talks with Nigeria to be headed by the Transitional Council chairman, Chief Ernest Shonekan, tomorrow. He is expected to pay a courtesy visit to President Ibrahim Babangida before leaving for home. [end recording]

#### **Babangida, Chalker Discuss Economy**

*AB2001063193 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 1500 GMT 19 Jan 93*

[Text] The Federal Government has reaffirmed its determination to reshape the nation's economy. President Ibrahim Babangida made the statement yesterday in Abuja when he granted audience to the British minister of overseas development, Baroness Lynda Chalker. The president said that he was working very closely with the Transitional Council to ensure that all urgent problems were resolved before a civilian government took over in August.

On the transition to civil rule, General Babangida said the Federal Government had no objection to international observers coming to monitor the rescheduled presidential elections in June this year. He said that the Center for Democratic Studies had already put up a

proposal on the subject of international observers. The president remarked that the quality and caliber of the candidates now entering the presidential race was very impressive and had inspired renewed optimism that the transition process could be brought to a successful conclusion.

In her response, Mrs. Chalker noted that the presence of international observers would give added credibility to the last stage of democratization process in Nigeria. She remarked that the success of Nigeria's transition program would give a boost to the democratization process in the rest of Africa. Lady Chalker restated the British Government's offer of assistance for the strengthening of democratic institutions in Nigeria.

The British minister commended Nigeria's decision to send troops for the UN peace efforts in Somalia as well as the Federal Government's role in resolving the conflicts in Liberia and the Sudan.

#### **Human Rights Committee Demands Apology From Army**

*AB1901165093 Paris AFP in English 1157 GMT 18 Jan 93*

[Text] Lagos, Jan 17 (AFP)—Nigeria's Committee for the Defence of Human Rights (CDHR) has demanded an apology from the military regime for charging that the body planned to "destabilise" the country and overthrow the government.

The military intelligence service announced last Wednesday [13 January] that it had recovered from one Bolaji Olanipekun, a member of the Campaign For Democracy (CD), the umbrella body for all human rights organisations, and the CDHR, a list of senior Army officers marked out for 'elimination' and retired officers given the task of carrying out the assignment.

Olanipekun is both a member of the CD and the CDHR, the CD confirmed last Thursday [14 January], but it added that his membership of these organisations did not signify that he was on their "pay-roll".

A letter addressed at the weekend to the Army spokesman, Colonel Fred Chijuka, a copy of which was delivered Sunday [17 January] here to AFP, described the allegation as "spurious" and raising "false alarm".

The CDHR is convinced that the allegation "was a grand design by the military to frame up 'culpable homicide' charges against human rights and pro-democracy activists in case any clandestine motive of secret extermination fails," the letter said.

It is the government that has been "consistently" spreading false information, by the unending postponement of handing over power to civilians and a campaign of lies against retired military generals, said the document, signed by the CDHR secretary general, Debo Adeniran.

"It is against this backdrop that we demand a public explanation or apology from you in order to have a clear perception of your real intention", concluded the letter.

President Ibrahim Babangida last year postponed the planned handover over power to elected civilians from January 4, 1993, to next August 27, after cancelling presidential primary elections marred by widespread allegations of fraud.

### Senegal

#### PLP Secretary General To Contest Elections

AB1901174093 Dakar PANA in English 1222 GMT 19 Jan 93

[Text] Kaolack (Senegal), 19 Jan. (APS-SEN/PANA)—The secretary-general of the Party for the Liberation of the People (PLP), Babacar Niang has been elected to contest the presidential elections taking place in Senegal in February.

Niang's unanimous endorsement as the PLP flag bearer in Kaolack, central Senegal, on Monday [18 January], brings to nine, the number of candidates running for the election including incumbent President Abdou Diouf.

Addressing party militants later, the PLP scribe described himself as the Bill Clinton of Senegal and denied rumours that he was too sick [to] engage in electoral campaigns. He urged the party militants to be vigilant at the polling booths on 21 February when the first round is scheduled to take place.

### Sierra Leone

#### Foreign Minister on UK Aid Suspension, Relations

AB1601165593 Freetown SLBS Radio in English 2000 GMT 15 Jan 93

[Text] Foreign Secretary Dr. Mohamed Lamin Kamara, said in an interview with SIERRA LEONE NEWS AGENCY that it was unfortunate that Britain has decided to suspend aid to Sierra Leone. Dr. Kamara said Sierra Leoneans were disappointed over the British action, as the decision was hastily done.

The foreign secretary recalled that Britain, as our former colonial masters, should have assessed the difficult situation currently facing Sierra Leone and show better understanding. He expressed the hope that Anglo-Sierra Leonean relations, which had been long standing, will continue within an atmosphere of common understanding. He said that Western observers should give the NPRC Government [National Provisional Ruling Council] a chance to speedily implement its objectives, paramount among which, is overall socioeconomic development.

Asking a question on Sierra Leone's diplomatic thrust, the foreign secretary said that the political independence is interlinked with sustained economic independence and that a meaningful foreign policy at this stage of our history, should be based on strengthening the national economy. He regretted that the economic development in Sierra Leone has been affected by negative factors such as mismanagement and misrule over the past 24 years.

On the Liberian problem and its spillover effect on Sierra Leone, Dr. Kamara said no effort has been spared to reach a peaceful settlement.

#### Rebel Attacks Reportedly Resume in Southern Province

AB2001165993 London BBC World Service in English 1830 GMT 19 Jan 93

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The Sierra Leone Army's apparent success in driving rebels out of the Eastern Province town of Koidu has had an unwelcome effect on rebel activity in the Southern Province. When the RUF [Revolutionary United Front] launched their incursions nearly two years ago, Pujehun District in the south was one of their main areas of operation and that seemed to have died down until this month. But now, rebel attacks in the Southern Province are being stepped up as Alhassan Sylla reports from Bo.

[Begin Sylla recording] According to reports from the area, towns and villages around Muala some 33 miles from mainland Pujehun and Masampeka, three miles from the township had been evacuated by hundreds of local people as the attacks persisted. Then last Sunday [17 January] afternoon, however, reinforcements from the southern command post attacked the affected areas and reportedly flushed out a number of rebels.

According to Subinspector Ibrahim Manseray, commanding officer of the paramilitary death squad at Potoru, troops pursued pockets of the insurgents into surrounding forests and killed a handful of their numbers following a five-hour battle at the town of Muala, at which both sides used rocket-propelled grenade launchers. By Monday [18 January] morning, a number of natives who had fled their areas were returning back to their villages following reassurances from the military that the situation was under control.

A senior member of the Pujehun Descendants Union, overseeing his people's embarkation on their return journey at the main commercial center in Bo yesterday afternoon, told me that the main preoccupation of these rebels was to loot food stores and other warehouses.

In the meantime, however, some people from Pujehun, have expressed mysticism over the pattern of attacks by the rebels. According to one local businessman, Mr. J.S. Fahnbulleh, who returned from the town of Muala this

morning, the areas from where these rebels have launched their attacks are areas supposed to have been sealed by the military over eight months ago and declared rebel-free zones. I am mystified over the so-called bypasses they are supposed to have used. Fahnbulleh told me. He added as though in an afterthought and I quote: Perhaps, these so-called rebels are coming from the underworld. Pujehun District and its environs had remained relatively rebel-free since eight months ago. [end recording]

## Togo

### Demonstrators Call For Koffigoh's Resignation

*AB1901124093 Paris AFP in French 1121 GMT 19 Jan 93*

[Text] Lome 19 Jan (AFP)—A demonstrator sustained gunshot wounds this morning during a march by the opposition to express support for the Transitional Assembly and to call for Prime Minister Joseph Koffigoh's resignation.

Circumstances surrounding the incident are unclear. The young man was hit in the leg when police fired shots in the air to drive back the demonstrators, who were approaching an international hotel where the High Council of the Republic was getting ready to hold a meeting. After the shots were fired, the demonstrators—believed to be tens of thousands—remained at the premises to face the security forces.

Earlier, the demonstrators had stopped in front of the U.S., French, and German Embassies. The Collective of Democratic Opposition-II handed over a statement to the foreign missions accusing General Gnassingbe Eyadema of violating the Constitution by confirming Mr. Koffigoh's appointment as prime minister by decree on 18 January. The demonstrators booed the prime minister, shouting "Koffigoh, Traitor; Koffigoh, Out."

### Council Passes Vote of No Confidence in Prime Minister

*AB1901222993 London BBC World Service in English 1830 GMT 19 Jan 93*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] There has been a big demonstration in Togo today against last night's reappointment by President Eyadema of the country's transitional prime minister, Kokou Koffigoh. Eyadema's decision comes just a few days after he announced that he had sacked him, saying that Koffigoh's original mandate from the National Conference expired at the end of last month. Ironically, the protest was staged by the prime minister's former supporters in the opposition. On the line to Lome, Robin White asked Ebow Godwin if today's demonstration was well attended:

[Begin recording] [Godwin] It was a mammoth demonstration. More than 10,000 people turned out on the streets, but the tempo of the demonstration was two-fold, for the leaders of the opposition coalition to present petitions to the embassies of the Western countries—notably the USA, France, Germany, the European Economic Community and then the United Nations representative. After that, the crowd moved to the area where the High Council of the Republic was holding its first plenary session for the first time in four months—after their members had been taken hostage—and there the crowd shouted anti-Koffigoh slogans.

[White] And was there any trouble at all?

[Godwin] Oh yes, there was trouble. As the crowd surged forward towards the hall where the interim parliament was holding its session, paramilitary gendarmerie had to fire warning shots to disperse the crowd, and, in the process, it is understood that about four people were injured.

[White] Is the demonstration now over?

[Godwin] The demonstration is now over following the High Council of the Republic—that is, the interim parliament's—declaration passing a vote of no confidence in Mr. Koffigoh.

[White] So, what is going to happen now?

[Godwin] Well, what is going to happen, we do not know, because yesterday, President Eyadema renominated Prime Minister Koffigoh to his post. But now that the High Council of the Republic have revoked their support for him, it appears that the crisis in Togo is deepening further and further.

[White] Now, why have they suddenly turned against Koffigoh, the other members of the opposition? After all, it is only a few weeks ago they used to love the man.

[Godwin] The whole attitude of the opposition in Togo looks a little bit bizarre, but then that is politics. They are saying that...[changes thought] They want to deny President Eyadema the constitutional right of appointing a prime minister—he has no right to do so and that it is the High Council of the Republic who has to do that. Now, they want a new prime minister altogether.

[White] Now, the demonstrators today, you said also, went to the German, American, and French embassies. What have they got against the Germans, the Americans, and the French?

[Godwin] It appears that the position of the opposition coalition in Togo is that they want to internationalize the crisis in Togo, and they are asking for the support of the Western countries in their struggle to get their demands through.

[White] Basically, they want the Germans, the Americans, and the French to put pressure on Eyadema to go?

[Godwin] Indeed, yes, they want the Western countries to exert diplomatic pressure on President Eyadema to accept their demands. [end recording]

#### **Foreign Minister Natchaba Calls HCR 'Illegal'**

*AB2001161393 Paris AFP in English 1539 GMT 20 Jan 93*

[Excerpts] Lome, Jan 20 (AFP) - Togo's Foreign Minister Ouattara Natchaba said Wednesday [20 January] that the country's parliament had made itself "illegal" by rejecting President Gnassingbe Eyadema's choice of prime minister.

The High Council of the Republic, a transitional parliament set up after a national democracy conference in 1991, met Tuesday at a hotel and declared that General Eyadema's reappointment of Joseph Koffigoh was "anti-constitutional."

"There's nothing anti-constitutional in what we've done," said Natchaba, a close aide to Eyadema. "It's the HCR that has become illegal."

"Togo needs a government," the minister told foreign diplomats.

He added that political consultation would lead to the formation of a new national assembly.

Referring to single-candidate elections that have perpetuated Eyadema's 25-year-rule, Natchaba said a president "elected by universal suffrage cannot see his mandate overturned by a roomful of rascally chums."

Forty of the 79 members of the assembly met Tuesday, but Eyadema supporters were not among them. [passage omitted]

General Eyadema on Monday reappointed Koffigoh, a lawyer initially chosen by the opposition but increasingly under attack in recent months for what pro-democracy activists called too many concessions to the military. [passage omitted]



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**DATE FILMED**

22 January 1993

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